

A STUDY OF MĀORI ENGLISH WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO SYLLABLE TIMING: A
COMPARISON OF THE SPOKEN LANGUAGE OF A REPRESENTATIVE SAMPLE OF
MĀORI AND PĀKEHĀ RECORDED IN CHRISTCHURCH

A Thesis submitted in partial fulfilment for the degree of Masters of Arts in
Linguistics in the University of Canterbury

by Anne Hardman

University of Canterbury

1997

Acknowledgements

I wish to thank Elizabeth Gordon of the Linguistics Department, University of Canterbury, for her invaluable help and support during this project. Thank you Frank Ladd of the Statistics Department, and Gillian Lewis of the Linguistics Department, University of Canterbury for your valuable time. Special thanks to the four informants who have all passed away in 1996 and 1997, one of whom was my mother. During the latter stages of this project my mother, who had been eagerly awaiting the completion of this work, became ill and passed away one month before it was completed. I thank very sincerely my two sons and daughter for your patience, support, understanding and practical help during this time. I wish to thank my sister, Mary, who is always a source of great strength, comfort and very wise words. Many thanks also to the Assistant Principal of Aranui High School and the H.O.D. English at Hillmorton High School for their permission to collect the data at their schools. Finally, and by no means least, thanks so much to all the people who so generously gave their time to participate in this project. Without your input there would have been no output.

To all these gracious, willing and generous people thank you very much.

CONTENTS

IV

Page Number

TITLE PAGE	I
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	II
CONTENTS	IV
ABSTRACT	V
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS	VII
LIST OF TABLES AND GRAPHS	VIII
1 - INTRODUCTION	1
2 nd - REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE RELEVANT TO MĀORI ENGLISH	5
3 - METHODOLOGY	29
4 RESULTS	47
5 ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION OF RESULTS:	
5.1 MĀORI /PĀKEHĀ COMPARISON	84
5.2 MĀORI/PĀKEHĀ AGE AND SEX COMPARISONS	102
6 CONCLUSION	121
BIBLIOGRAPHY	
APPENDICES	

ABSTRACT

This Thesis examined features of Māori English, and in particular, those which relate to syllable-timing. The focus of the project is on the speech of a representative group of Māori and Pākehā recorded in Christchurch in 1993 and 1994. The project is chiefly interested in the speech of adolescents, but a group of Māori and Pākehā adults were also recorded so that comparisons relating to age and sex could be made. This research shows that grammatical forms which are usually unstressed in Pākehā English were often more likely to be stressed in the speech of Māori informants contributing to syllable timed rhythm. Other features, including non-standard usages such as elisions and omissions, liaison, use of Māori lexis and the voicing of initial consonants all contribute to the variety designated Māori English. This Thesis argues that some of the features of Māori English can be traced back to te reo Māori or can be accounted for by the influence of te reo Māori.

List of Tables & Graphs

	Page Number
Table 1: Composition of subjects in the original sample group	32
Table 2: Composition of extra 39 subjects later omitted from the research project	32
Table 3: Composition of 54 subjects in final sample group	32
Table 4: Degree of Competency and Fluency in te reo Māori among the Participants	37
Table 5: Breakdown of Corpus	41
Table 6: Distribution of <u>/ɔ/</u> Variants used with full forms of the vowel - Māori & Pākehā	49
Table 7: Distribution of full forms of <u>of</u> - Māori and Pākehā	50
Table 8: Distribution of <u>You + contracted forms of verbs</u> used with full forms of the vowel - Māori and Pākehā	51
Table 9: Indefinite article preceding a word beginning with a Vowel - Māori and Pākehā	65
Table 10: Summary of occurrences of grammatical words using full form - Māori/Pākehā	66
Table 11: Summary of omissions of verbs following certain Pronouns - Māori and Pākehā	75
Table 12: Summary of Verbs omitted in other environments - Māori & Pākehā	76
Table 13: Summary of Non-standard Tense - Māori & Pākehā	77
Table 14: Liaison - Māori and Pākehā	79
Table 15: The articles preceding words beginning with consonants - Māori/Pākehā	98
Table 16: The use of the full forms of vowels for liaison - Māori & Pākehā, Age & Sex Comparisons	112
Table 17: The articles <u>a</u> & <u>the</u> - Māori & Pākehā Age & Sex Comparisons	114
Graph 1: Overall Results	47
Graph 2: Occurrences with Full realizations of the vowels. Māori & Pākehā	66

List of Abbreviations

The abbreviations used for the different groups are in this project are:

MT	Māori teenagers
FMT	female Māori teenagers
MMT	male Māori teenagers
MA	Māori adults
FMA	female Māori adults
MMA	male Pākehā adults
PT	Pākehā teenagers
FPT	female Pākehā teenagers
MPT	male Pākehā teenagers
PA	Pākehā adults
FPA	female Pākehā adults
MPA	male Pākehā adults
ME	Māori English
PE	Pākehā English
SE	Samoan English
NZE	New Zealand English

1. INTRODUCTION

This project is based on material collected at various times during 1993 and 1994 in Christchurch. The aim is to compare aspects of the speech of a representative group of Māori and Pākehā adolescents, who were born in New Zealand and who have lived most of their lives in Christchurch, to determine if there is a difference in the way both groups speak which can be explained in terms of ethnicity.

Adult Māori bilingual speakers (of Māori and English) were sought in order to compare their English speech to the English speech of the younger Māori teenage participants. Adult Pākehā are included to compare their speech to that of the younger Pākehā participants and, in addition to these two contrasts, a further four way comparison will be made comparing age and sex differences.

This project is interested in the language backgrounds of the speakers. Ethnicity and language background are important considerations when examining linguistic variables as familiarity with another language and identification with that language group can have quite marked effects on the speech of many speakers. While many think of ethnicity in terms of skin colour, the defining factor in this project will be self identification with cultural background.

Most of the contributors to this project are family and friends of mine and friends of members of my family. I grew up in a bi-cultural milieu since childhood and have many close family relations who have Māori ancestry. I have learned te reo Māori and taught it for five years in a local high school. I have attended countless hui for various reasons, primarily *taki*, and I have heard only one Māori person speaking English during the formal speech making part of marae procedure in the last decade, and that was this year at the *taki* of the upoko of *Kāi Tahu*. At these *taki* I have heard adults holding a prolonged conversation in te reo Māori, I have heard groups of people chatting with one another in te reo Māori and I have heard adults explaining things to children and children questioning and clarifying points in te reo Māori. As well as that, at the last two hui I encountered

many young children of pre-school and early school age, some of whom have attended Kohaka Reo, who are speakers of Māori English (henceforth ME).

Interest in the area of ME is of importance for all New Zealanders. It is important to understand the symbolic nature of this variety of New Zealand English (henceforth NZE) and the reasons which underlie its existence. While many Māori speak a variety of English indistinguishable from Pākehā English (henceforth PE), others show markedly ME features in their speech in all situations, including formal. Noticeable features of ME are also present in the speech of some Pākehā who have not grown up speaking ME as their first language. For these speakers the political nature of ME is an important factor and is clearly tied up with identity.

The ME variety of NZE is an exciting but, until recently, under-explored area of study. During the 1960's developments in the study of black and non-standard dialects of English were occurring in America, Britain, Australia, etc prompted, in many cases, by concerns for the educational underachievements of children from these language groups. Important descriptions of black and non-standard varieties of English resulted. At the same time educationalists in New Zealand had the same concerns for Māori children and two important projects with fairly comprehensive descriptions of features of ME resulted. Unfortunately, attitudes towards black and non-standard speech were (and continue to be) primarily negative, as in the later of the two projects on ME mentioned above. The infamous 1971 Department of Education publication, 'Māori Children and the Teacher' reflects this, "This distinctive element, [i.e. the non-standard usages derived from the Māori language as listed by Benton in his 1966 project] ... can distract the teacher's attention from the basis of the dialect, which is a very restricted form of the English language." (1971:21)

The current project attempts to describe certain features of ME and totally rejects the view that it is in any way an inadequate or inferior variety of NZE. In so saying it is clear that its existence is also totally accepted as a valid and valuable variety of NZE. It is not my contention that all the features of ME derive from te reo Māori but that some do. If some of these features have an explanation in te Reo Māori I suggest that te Reo Māori has had a significant influence on ME. This

suggestion will be supported if it can be shown that the Māori adult speakers who are fluent in Māori and English and have been so for most of their lives, use more of the 'marked'¹ forms than any of the other groups, particularly monolingual Pākehā adults.

Studies of the effects of Māori on English are few and comments about this often take the form of casual observations rather than statements based on empirical evidence. Benton states that, "The most obvious influence of Māori on New Zealand English has been at the lexical level, with a large number of words for flora and fauna, some cultural concepts such as *mana* ('prestige', 'standing') and a few expressions such as *taihoa* (anglicised to /taihou/) 'wait a bit'." (1992:29)

Most of these lexical items have been Anglicised but for the last decade, coinciding with the official status² awarded the Māori language, there has been considerable resistance to this as it is equated with cultural assimilation, with its accompanying implications of cultural hierarchy and dominance. Nowadays, Māori and Pākehā alike encourage the use of Māori loan words in English to be used as they would be in Māori, e.g. with Māori pronunciation, lack of the English plural system being applied to Māori nouns and the use of the Māori spelling system which represents the phonemic distinctions between long and short vowels. The research presented here suggests the presence of other and more subtle effects of Māori, through ME, on PE. NZ's socially fluid society makes dialect differentiation difficult to distinguish so that linguistic features which might be distinctive at one time to one variety of NZE spread quickly to another variety making the source of that feature difficult to locate. As with the social stratum in NZ which is best placed on a continuum (cf Mitchell and Delbridge 1965:63) so too perhaps can language variation in NZ. While it might make the cut off point between Māori and Pākehā English a little difficult to determine it may nonetheless best describe NZ's language situation. While ME might not be as distinctive from PE in New Zealand as 'Scouse' (Liverpool English) is from 'Geordie' (Tyneside English) within England it must be borne in mind that "varieties of English, spoken at whatever distance, or

¹'Marked' in this sense refers to those variants which are used in an unexpected way, for example the use of the full form of the vowel in grammatical words in unstressed positions where the reduced form of the vowel would normally be expected.

²The Māori language was designated an official language by the Māori Language Act of 1987. Interestingly, English is not constitutionally recognised in the same way. It has never been declared an official language of New Zealand.

however close up, are not discrete entities. ... The similarities greatly exceed the differences."
(Burchfield 1994:13)

The focus of this project is the use of full forms of the vowels in grammatical words in unstressed positions which is usually expected in Mora-timed languages, such as Māori and Japanese and not in English. Other associated variables will also be examined such as BE and HAVE deletion, omission of grammatical words, use of Māori lexis. The project falls into two parts. The first part is a review of the literature relevant to and on ME. Part 1 of chapter 2 examines the term ethnicity and its bearing on language use. Part 2 asks the question 'Does ME exist?' and is a review of the literature on the subject of ME. Part 3 reviews the research into and lists variables of ME. The second part concerns the specifics of this project. Part 1 of chapter 3 is about the methodology employed throughout this project. Part 2 concerns the variables examined. Chapter 4 contains the results of the variables examined. Chapter 5 is an analysis and description of the results beginning with a straight Māori/Pākehā comparison and leading to age and sex comparisons. Chapter 6 is the conclusion. A transcription of the interviews has been included in the appendices along with the calculations relevant to the variables examined in this project.

2. REVIEW OF LITERATURE RELEVANT TO MĀORI ENGLISH

2.1 Ethnic Varieties

For decades there has been much debate, theory and research on how best to conceptualize ethnicity, but little agreement has resulted among the scholars. Fishman explains that "Ethnicity is rightly understood as an aspect of a collectivity's self-recognition as well as an aspect of its recognition in the eyes of outsiders" (1977:16). In other words one recognises that one is part of a sub-group which is different from other sub-groups in the wider community. While ethnicity usually refers to minority groups or collectivities it also refers to any collectivity which recognises itself and is recognised by outsiders as being separate and different from others. In addition, the notion of ethnicity requires, according to Fishman, "inheritance" - one is born into (or brought up in) a collectivity and can be recognised by a number of physical and behavioural traits, including linguistic, which are handed down. Fishman's terms for this "inheritance" are 'paternity' and 'patrimony'. According to this broad and loose definition of ethnicity the majority Pākehā collectivity within New Zealand may be classified as an ethnic group. This collectivity is, however, not as easily recognised as a distinctive collective compared to the *takata whenua* of New Zealand. The predominate doctrine of the majority Pākehā collective within New Zealand is individualism which conflicts with the fundamental "kinship" bond of the Māori collective experienced as solidarity by its members. Bayard, however, rejects a "kinship" dimension on purely genetic grounds describing this definition as "folk-anthropological nonsense. ... Ethnic identity is a totally subjective variable ... the only accurate way to ascertain a person's ethnicity is to ask the person herself" (1995:59). Nonetheless, the notion of 'kinshipness' is an essential dimension of ethnicity but must not be determined on the basis of blood quantification. To suggest that someone is not Māori because one of his or her great great grandmothers was Portuguese or his mother is Pākehā is utter nonsense. Ancestry is one of many factors which determines ethnicity and must be acknowledged. Bayard, citing Spoonley, provides four criteria needed to define an ethnic group:

- A sense of sharing a common ancestry, real or "invented".
- Traditions of a shared historical past.

- A cultural focus on elements defined as symbolising their unity as a group *vis-à-vis* non-group members.
- A sense of belonging to their own group relative to the larger society their group lives in." (Bayard 1996:136)

As Bayard notes, the Māori "satisfy" these four criteria, as do other groups within New Zealand, while the Pākehā would have a little difficulty with the fourth criterion. The dominant Pākehā group in New Zealand does not appear to share a sense of 'kinship' in common with each other unless they are actually blood related and even then, in many instances, anything beyond first cousins does not seem to be significant let alone particularly relevant to their daily living.

Language, food, dress, artifacts and patterns of worship are all among the major symbols and outer expressions of ethnicity, the means of identification. Of these symbols, language is "the symbol *par excellence*" (Fishman 1977:25) of ethnicity. The attempts in various parts of the world to revitalise and reinstate a native language can be seen in the light of this powerful symbol where that language has been in danger of being lost due to the encroachment of the language of the dominant group of the particular area. Maintenance of the 'native' language is an expression of cultural identity, pride and ingroup solidarity.

Many groups are also identified by speech style which can be the most salient dimension of this identity (Bourhis & Giles 1977:119) and this speech style is "a truer reflection of one's ethnic [and social] allegiance (at least in the eyes of others) than one's cultural heritage as determined by one's birthright" (Giles, Bourhis, Taylor 1977:326). An ethnic speech style is a marker of the speaker's ethnicity and solidarity and can be as important if not more so than an actual "native" language. Jews, Irish and Scots, to name just a few groups, are immediately recognised probably world wide by the way they speak the English language. The Scots do not consider the restoration of Scottish Gaelic to national status as being crucial to their national identity; their Scots accented English is obviously sufficient for this purpose.

People's evaluations of groups are based on speech styles as many attitude studies carried out here in New Zealand and overseas demonstrate. Ratings given "tend to reflect the [perceived] relative socio-economic status of the speech group representative" (Bouchard Ryan 1979:150). Evaluations made of a representative from a lower socio-economic group tend to be negative on most scales while a representative from a higher socio-economic group will be evaluated more positively. Negative evaluations are also made by ingroup members of their own speech style. "For instance, the Quebecois, Mexican Americans and American Blacks until quite recently had a relatively negative social identity which was reflected in the evaluations they made of their own distinctive speech style." (Giles, Bourhis, Taylor 1977:325). Robertson, carrying out an attitude study in Wellington with Māori and Pākehā listeners of Māori and Pākehā speakers, found this same negativity toward ME among her Māori evaluators. "The Māori group are not inclined to rate speakers they perceive to be Māori noticeably more highly than do the Pākehā or non-NZ groups. This suggests that ME is still a low prestige language variety for Māori people." (1994:158) Leek's study of Auckland listeners, as described by Bayard, found that the Māori and Polynesian listeners gave greater negative ratings for intelligence and reliability when speakers were perceived to be of the same ethnicity as themselves (Bayard 1996:149). The accuracy of the identifications is not commented on but Bayard does state that "the sample was not large enough to produce any significant results ... [but] certainly suggests the presence of a negative self-image" (1995:150). When members of the majority group constantly and consistently downgrade speakers on social scales on the basis of the way they speak it is not surprising that the people who are of the downgraded group will also downgrade this speech style. One of the most negative examples of this downgrading by members of the dominant group is the case of the high school students, presumably in Dunedin, who commented on the personality of a female New Zealander based on her "hesitant, broad-accented" English. Bayard lists some of these comments and states that they "make for some very depressing reading: 'on the dole ... street kid ... glue sniffer ... slave ... scummy job ... loser ... unemployed', etc" (1995:151). This speaker was mistakenly identified by a significant percentage of these high school evaluators as being Māori when she was in fact Pākehā. This is a reflection of the stereotyping and racial prejudice which occurs in New Zealand.

The inaccuracy of identification of New Zealand speakers by New Zealand listeners is an important point. New Zealand speech styles are not so very distinct from one another and nor even are NZE and Australian English accents to some listeners. While many New Zealanders may think they can tell the difference between NZE and AusE or NZE and BritE, in fact they often cannot. Leek's listeners took two New Zealand speakers to be British, one was a near-RP sounding female while the other was a general-to-cultivated³ male speaker (Bayard 1995:151). Bauer comments that as there is an "overwhelming phonetic and phonological similarity [between] Australian and New Zealand English ... within New Zealand an Australian accent is not invariably picked up" (1994:416). However, listeners are not always wrong in their identifications. Holmes and Bell commenting on two attitude studies carried out in New Zealand state that:

A third of the respondents in Huygens and Vaughan's (1983) research successfully identified the Māori speakers. Gould's (1972) smaller scale study also found that some Māori speakers were distinguishable from Pākehā when both were reading aloud the same passage. Māori speakers were misclassified as Pākehā 55% of the time. ... Pakehas, on the other hand, were correctly classified 98% of the time. (Holmes and Bell, post 1991:1)

A social or an ethnic speech style is acquired from an early age from those by whom one is surrounded; it is acquired unconsciously and spontaneously. One can, to a certain extent, choose one's speech style adding, deleting or changing characteristics later in life. It is the speaker's social reality which has the most influence on 'choice' of a speech style. Many writers have commented on the linguistic situation in the work place.⁴ The work place is a "site *par excellence* where intergroup contact and tensions are experienced" (Banks 1988:16). A person might see it as an advantage or understand that it is a requirement to alter one's speech style for employment purposes. As part of an on-going study in the U.S. Southwest of two hotels in a world-wide chain Banks collected anecdotal evidence from Asian-Americans who grew up speaking a Hawai'ian

³The terms 'general, cultivated and broad' were devised by Mitchell and Delbridge (1965:63) for their study of the speech of Australian adolescents and this classification is now widely used to describe social class varieties of New Zealand English.

⁴p16 Banks for references

Creole that there was "institutional pressure for members to move from marked practices toward unmarked ones" (1988:27). For one female employee interviewed changing her speech style was seen by her as a career move anticipating employment advancement possibilities. One of the hotel hierarchy was quoted as saying "trying to speak the Standard English of the institution is laudable" (1988:27).

During adolescence a certain speech style may be adopted which reflects one's interests and group allegiance, distinguishing oneself from other groups. It is a time when one is particularly susceptible to the influence of peers. Edwards observes that "various writers ... refer to teacher reports that the speech of young black children closely resembles that of their white peers until about the ages of 14 or 15. At this point those who identify with the various black youth sub-cultures are reported to take pride in 'talking black'" (Edwards 1986:55). Wolfram and Fasold found in a study of Puerto Rican teenagers in East Harlem that "those with extensive contacts with blacks ... [spoke] authentic Black English, despite pressure from parental adult norms not to do so" (1974:91). One of my colleagues (a teacher) complained about her teenage daughter's new and "adopted" speech style acquired since she became friends with a new group of people. This speech style was frowned upon by the colleague for two reasons: 1) it was not what her daughter had grown up with; 2) the colleague felt it was 'false' of her daughter to use it. Interestingly, this speech style was apparently ME and the family concerned is Pākehā. In my view the education system reflects the values of the middle class which has overt opinions about good and bad speech styles. The above example demonstrates how little influence the education system has on the speech styles of its pupils.

An adopted speech style may continue to be used or not depending on the circumstances of the speaker, but certainly it will have become one of a repertoire. Changes in speech style between generations account for the gradual changes over time which occur in the language and which make it necessary for an older variety of the language, e.g. Chaucerian English, to be taught almost as a foreign language.

A speech style serves as an indication only of the speaker's ethnicity and/or social grouping. Research (Hewitt 1988; King 1993; Robertson 1994; Bayard 1995), and anecdotal material, has shown that every ingroup member of a collectivity does not necessarily use the variety associated (stereotypically or otherwise) with that collectivity and that many outgroup members do. Kaye states that not all American Jews speak Jewish English, "It seems to me that many or most American Jews speak English dialects at home (as their normal discourse) which are indistinguishable from those of their next door neighbours who just happen to be gentiles" (Kaye 1991:169). Nor do all British Jamaicans speak Jamaican English, or Southlanders in New Zealand use Southland NZE and so on. It is simply that speech styles can be identified with reasonable amounts of accuracy but not necessarily the speaker.

2.2 Does ME exist?

The literature on the subject of ME began in 1965 with Barham's study of the "English Vocabulary and Sentence Structures of Māori Children". Since that time various writings have appeared which have discussed Māori English from three points of view; 1) describing/analysing specific features; 2) discussions, in general and specifically, about ME; 3) attitude studies.⁵

1) Of the 17 writings dealing specifically with analysing variables only three, Barham (1965), Scott (1970) and McCallum (1978), failed to find sufficient differences in the speech of the Māori and Pākehā participants in their studies which might have supplied convincing evidence for a Māori dialect or variety of NZE. Nonetheless, Scott in his conclusion, states that "... even in Māori homes where there was ostensibly no Māori language spoken, the parents' English would possibly have been affected by the influence of Māori language in their youth. [emphasis in original]" (1970:133) Not only is Scott acknowledging the existence of ME but also that it has mother tongue speakers. Bell, Holmes and Boyce, were very non-committal about dialectal differences when concluding the ethnic section of the social dialect investigation carried out in Porirua:

We are clearly dealing - as has been suspected for a long time - with a much more complex linguistic phenomenon than a clear-cut Pākehā vs Māori dialect difference. Some Māori speakers use some variables and frequencies of variables which seem to set them apart from Pākehā speakers. But for any given variable, at least as many other Māori speakers are following the contrary trend. (1990:97)

Other writers, however, were more definite about their findings. Benton (1966) found regional/tribal variations where some variants were confined to one area while other variants were used in some regions but not others and this "suggests that ME may on closer investigation, be found to be a number of more or less independently evolved dialects influenced by the common Polynesian language used by the first bi-lingual speakers" (1966: 93). He is here referring to the influence of Te Reo Māori and mother tongue speakers of ME.

⁵The list of authors and dates appears in an appendix.

2) Writings discussing ME or the English as spoken by Māori children generally acknowledge that the variety exists. Richards posits two varieties of ME,

Māori English 1 is said to be characterized by "purity of vowels". It is a "standard" Māori pronunciation used, for example, by many Māori public figures, but it is not identical with either of the Pākehā pronunciations. Māori English 2 is characterized by vocabulary, grammatical *and* pronunciation differences (1970:131).

Researchers such as Barham (1965) and Simon (1979), when examining the speech of Māori and Pākehā children, found no differences between the speech of the two groups. Bell & Holmes (1991:157) state that "Benton's more detailed survey ... concludes that ... the existence of a stable, distinctive Māori dialect of English is not confirmed by his own or others' research to date." However, in 1992 Benton states that:

Māori English could perhaps most confidently be described as a variety (or set of varieties) of New Zealand English, varying according to the setting, and possibly also in some aspects according to the class-related variety of non-Māori habitually spoken by each interlocutor. ... It certainly incorporates lexical items and phonological features derived directly ... from the Māori language. (1992:33).

3) Of the four attitude studies⁶ relating to NZE, three found that Pākehā New Zealanders were generally unable to distinguish the Māori speakers they heard by the way they spoke and sometimes confused what may have been ME with a broad NZE usually associated with members of the lower income groups. This confusion is not surprising given that the lower income groups continue to be over-represented by Māori. Nonetheless, as Holmes and Bell (1996) point out, "Though listeners could often not distinguish Māori and Pākehā accents, there were usually some Māori speakers who were accurately identified by some New Zealand listeners as Māori." The

⁶Including Gould's (1972) small scale study. I did obtain a copy of this and have relied on comments made by Holmes & Bell (1996).

inability to distinguish Māori speakers is more than likely due to the fact that those whose attitudes were being surveyed were mainly middle class Pākehā and possibly had, generally, very little acquaintance with Māori, a reasonably common phenomenon in New Zealand. Results of Robertson's project "reveal[ed] noticeably higher levels of accuracy in identifying ... Māori speakers than ... previous studies." (1994:ii) Robertson's listeners were more accurate in their identification of speakers, especially those listeners who were, "more highly integrated ... into a Māori social network". (1994:73) However, there was a negative attitude toward ME among the Māori listeners according to Robertson who stated, "The Māori group [was] not inclined to rate speakers they perceive[d] to be Māori noticeably more highly than [did] the Pākehā or non-New Zealand groups." (1994:158) This negativity is a fairly typical reaction of listeners in attitude studies toward speakers who are perceived to be Māori and it has not been unusual for evaluators of the same 'low status' groups to display a low self image⁷.

The linguistic studies carried out initially were mainly in the 'deficit mould' based on the view that Māori children had problems using the English language sufficiently well. The now infamous and anonymous 1971 publication by the New Zealand Department of Education, Māori Children and the Teacher, explained the problem thus, "In general, Māori homes preserve, in varying degrees some of the elements of the traditional social structure which was based on communal living, and this structure is not conducive to the development of language ... [but rather] enable[s] meaning to be conveyed with few words." (1971:24) This was based on a then current theory of linguistics as put forward by Basil Bernstein. His theory explained the use of restricted and elaborated codes by children from lower and middle to upper socio-economic groups. These codes appeared to answer the question of why children from lower socio-economic groups in Britain did not have the same academic success as their higher socio-economic group peers. Māori Children and the Teacher suggested that the children from lower socio-economic groups were unable to achieve the same academic success because of their tendency to use restricted codes⁸

⁷See Lambert, W.E. (1967) and Tajfel, et al (1972).

⁸This book actually misrepresents the views of the English sociologist Basil Bernstein. Bernstein said that everyone uses the restricted code, which is the 'particularistic' language used and understood within a group or a family. The elaborated code has 'universalistic meaning' and is available to the middle class. It is also the language required by schools, so in Britain lower class

It is a drawback to a child at school, however, if he is restricted to this as his sole language, limiting his vocabulary and his speech patterns. ... a restricted code [ie ME] limits the ability of the child to form concepts, recognise relationships, choose from alternatives, and follow logical processes. (1971:22)⁹

The existence of ME in NZ has been questioned during the last decade or so, on the basis of the fact that ME and PE share more features in common, that the similarities outweigh the differences, and because attitude studies have yielded such poor results in terms of accuracy of identification of Māori by listeners on speech styles alone. The differences between ME and PE are said to be a matter of frequency rather than absolute use or non-use of a given variable and it is the preponderance in one direction or another of the variable which marks the boundary. King (1993), Robinson (1994) and Bayard (1995) are of the opinion that ME is best described as a 'register'. Bayard states that "... the Māori variety [of English] would seem to be a contextually variable register, often used as a solidarity marker by many but by no means all Māori and by some Pākehā (and Pacific Islanders) as well ... (emphasis in the original)" (1995:144). While ME shares many characteristics in common with PE, it also shares features in common with other 'black' varieties. Leap, in a study of American Indian English, lists the following features as being "widely attested for non-standard English as a whole:

- restrictions on final-position consonants
- unmarked past tense
- copula (linking verb) deletion
- multiple negation.

Lower frequency of plural and possessive suffix marker" (Leap 1993:53, 112) may be added to the above list. These features are common in American Indian English, Black English, Australian Aboriginal English to name a few and are also found in ME and PE but to a lesser extent in PE than

children are at a disadvantage in school. In this New Zealand book, the restricted code is described as some sort of defective language, which has terrible cognitive consequences for its speakers.

⁹Ignorance of this nature is still encountered to this day from the 'educators'. I was told by an English teacher at a girls' school that they (ie Maori) have been taught how to speak properly and that this Maori way of speaking English is unnecessary and 'put on'.

in ME. Benton suggests that "ME may ... be influenced by the common Polynesian language used by the first bi-lingual speakers" (1966:93). ME, Samoan English (SE) and other Polynesian Englishes in New Zealand share many features and may be even more indistinguishable from ME than ME is from PE to many listeners. The similarities between ME and SE are explicable in terms of the similarities of the ancestral languages concerned. While Te Reo Māori and Samoan Gagana are easily distinguishable aurally they have much in common structurally. Some of the similarities between Māori and Samoan include features such as syllables end in vowels, there is no word for be, pronouns are divided into three classes with words for each.¹⁰ The main differences lie in areas such as lexis and the consonants e.g., Māori /r /and /h/ are /l/ and /s/ in Samoan. One area of difference between ME and SE could well prove to be speech rate. My impression is that SE is produced at a faster rate than ME. This is an area for further research.

There has been some debate, as mentioned above, about the existence of a Māori accented variety of New Zealand English the existence of which was taken for granted for a long time in New Zealand by writers in the field of linguistics and also by the general public. This assumption is completely valid from the point of view of the fact that until post World War 2¹¹ a number of Māori spoke only Māori until they went to school. It is also reasonable to assume that a number will have experienced the difficulties learners of a second language encounter when attempting to assume all aspects of grammar, pronunciation and syntax of a second language. Clark's 1990 article supplies written evidence for the existence of ME and a Pidgin Māori within New Zealand. It would seem to be obvious that a 'pidgin' form of Māori would have existed during the earliest contacts between Māori and Pākehā. After all, formal education in the English language for many Māori did not occur for many years. The medium of instruction was Māori until the 1860's when legislation required that all instruction in government schools be in English in order to qualify for government funding.¹² After this time speaking Māori was forbidden anywhere on school grounds and

¹⁰This information about gagaga Samoa was supplied by a friend of the family who is bilingual in Samoan and English.

¹¹The post World War 2 period saw New Zealand experience an exodus of rural Māori and this era has been called by many scholars "The New Māori Migration" (Metge 1964:20). This is the most rapid rate of urbanisation New Zealand has ever seen.

¹²p470 Under the 'Act to regulate and provide Subsidies for Maori Schools' dated 10th October 1867 the government was able to decide the medium of instruction and was obviously also

transgressors suffered a range of punishments for the 'crime' of speaking their native language. However, the language of the home and community for many Māori continued to be Te Reo Māori (or English with a Māori accent) for some time to come. Because in earlier times many Māori did not learn English until they went to school, we can assume that certain features of their mother tongue were transferred to English and that they spoke English with a Māori accent. There seem to be two varieties of ME - the older one is where the speaker had Māori as a first language and Māori phonological and syntactic features were then transferred to English. The second is the later one where the speaker is not Māori speaking, so first language transfer is no longer an explanation, but the speaker's English is still influenced by the older variety. This, then, supports the contention that ME is a variety of NZE with a history going back to the earliest Māori learners of English as a second language and is not merely a new variety which is being used as a linguistic badge of identity except by those, including Pākehā, whose first language is PE. The linguistic badge of identity as an explanation of ME suggest a conscious choice, including the social and political aspects of such a decision, but is not sufficient as it does not allow for the young children who are speakers of ME¹³ and who are too young to make this kind of sophisticated decision. The fact that features may have become standardised in the speech of older generations of Māori and have been handed down to subsequent generations is more feasible an explanation for the origins of ME than the notion of choosing to use a particular dialect or variety.

Some researchers, with the exception of Richards (1970), Mitcalfe (1967) and King (1993), have been reluctant to refer to a ME variety of NZE. Benton suggests this "may stem from an ideological confusion ... tantamount to denying the doctrine of racial equality to admit that the Māori [is] in

pushing for Pākehā teachers "No school shall receive any grant unless it is shown to the satisfaction of the Colonial Secretary by the report of the inspector or otherwise as the Colonial Secretary shall think fit that the English language and the ordinary subjects of primary English education are taught by a competent teacher and that the instruction is carried on in the English language as far as practicable Provided always that it shall be lawful for the Colonial secretary to contribute to the maintenance or salaries of such Native teachers as shall conduct Native Schools in remote districts when it may be found impossible to provide English teachers."

¹³I have encountered many children at various hui and tangi from Kohanga age upwards who, whether bilingual Maori and English or monolingual English, have quite a distinctive ME with features such as have been described to date.

any way different from the Pākehā New Zealander, except, perhaps, in ... physical appearance".
(Benton, 1966:11)

Most research into variables of ME have revealed that any differences are often to do with frequency of use, Māori using more of a particular variable, proportionately, than Pākehā. The question could be asked whether a clear-cut difference is necessary before definitive statements can be made about varieties on the basis of ethnicity. If clear-cut differences are seen as necessary in the case of ethnicity, it could be asked why clear cut differentiation is not also required for variation based on sex or age. Eckert states that "... sex does not have a uniform effect on variables..." and sex "does not have the same effect on language use everywhere in the population." (1989:245, 248) Any given variable tends to act in a way which is not clear cut for any of the traditional sociolinguistic categorical groupings. A particular variable may be said to be used in a certain way more often by women than by men and is described as being a feature of 'Female Language'. However, a particular feature will not be used by all women and will be used by some men yet is still called a feature of 'Female Language'. The difference is one of frequency. Labov comments that "there is no [linguistic] mode of behaviour ... peculiar to women ... [but] that what women are doing, men are also doing, to a lesser degree." (1990:244) I suggest that this must be also be true of ethnic differences. Holmes' question, "How frequently does a feature need to be to function as a distinctive feature of Māori English?" (1995:14) must become either unnecessary or must be asked, also, of sex, age and class differences. The answer must be that whatever the difference of frequency of use of forms is between varieties which are labelled sex, age or class differences must be the same for ethnic differences. So that if females use a variable almost twice as often as men and it is classed as a feature of 'Female Language', then if Māori use a variable almost twice as often as Pākehā that feature must be classed a feature of ME. Whether it is called a dialect or variety, as Burchfield points out, "... it must always be borne in mind that varieties of English, spoken at whatever distance, or however close up, are not discrete entities. ... The similarities greatly exceed the differences." (1994:13)

Finally, ME is a popularly assumed variety of NZE which is utilised by NZ comedians, such as Billy T. James and Rawene Paratene, both of whom developed characters who spoke with ME. It is also used by writers such as Sylvia Ashton-Warner (1963) and Blank (1968). Features of ME are reflected in the following 'stream of consciousness' narrative where Ashton-Warner quotes a Māori woman talking about the boy she had brought up as saying, "I bring him up. Now he five." (1963:70) Examples such as, "She want to look after me. ... They got to hurry up ... Your hands getting dirty ... Kauru got plenty lunch." (1968:90) abound in Blank's story of being a youngster beginning school and are all features of ME.

2.3 History of Research into Māori English

Early research into identifying and describing features of ME began in the mid 1960's and was prompted by concerns surrounding the educational underachievements of Māori school children rather than from an academic interest in describing ME as a variety of New Zealand English. It was considered that 'language difficulties' of the Māori school children were the underlying cause of the underachievement.

Barham examined the vocabulary and structural aspects of the speech of a small group of Māori and Pākehā children. He found that the "single and most arresting difference located among these children" (1965:57) was that the Pākehā children had a larger English vocabulary than that of the Māori children. The language backgrounds of the Māori children were ascertained and assessed by their teachers and the results of a scoring system listing degrees of contact and familiarity with Te Reo Māori determined whether the child was categorized as MM (Māori speaking Māori children) or ME (English speaking Māori children). No mention is made of a Māori way of speaking English in terms of ME. Mitcalfe states, "Deductions about Māori English must be based on a knowledge of Māori, of English, and of the structural aspects of language." (1967:20)

Anderson & Aitken (1965) and Benton (1966), however, found a number of variables in the English speech of Māori school children, some of which were taken to be specific to Māori children in general though no reference is made to the children's familiarity or otherwise with Te Reo Māori. The conclusions reached in the work of Anderson & Aitken (1965) are not particularly useful and do not state much that is of any relevance to this project. There are, however, a number of variables described in their research which are pertinent to this study and will be discussed later. Many of these variables, said to be grammatical "mistakes", have their base in the Māori language, an observation completely missed by Anderson & Aitken, demonstrating that the authors did not take the language backgrounds of their contributors into account when analysing the data. It also demonstrates their lack of understanding of the problems second language learners encounter or the influence of a first language on the production of the second language learned. Benton, on the other hand, investigated the linguistic backgrounds of the children contributing to his data as it was

recognised that this was a "major factor to be considered when interpreting the data gathered ..." and found not only that many of the children who spoke Māori "had an excellent command of their native tongue" (1966:73, 97) but also that many of the 'errors' being described were attributable to the influence of Māori language and was, therefore, able to explain them.

Some of the non-standard usages present in the English speech can be attributed to the influence of Māori grammar and syntax, or, less often, to the mistaken identification of vocabulary concepts in the two languages whose areas of meaning converge but do not coincide. Such transferences were met with in the speech of children from all linguistic backgrounds, a great many of them have undoubtedly become standardized in adult speech and are characteristic of the sub-dialects making up ME. (1966:79)

In the course of the project he found "that scarcely any Māori children had no contact whatever with the Māori language". (1966:97)

Neither project used a comparative method of analysis but described the data in its own terms. Benton did include 16 Pākehā children for 'diplomatic purposes' but does not elaborate on their contribution to the data base. As the speech of 600 children from 9 different regions was recorded, the speech of the 16 Pākehā children if analysed, could hardly be said to be representative comparatively speaking. One wonders if the 'diplomatic needs' were met.

Scott's re-examination of the data collected by Barham in the 1960's from a language maturity point of view, concluded with a number of points, one of which was that the Pākehā children (referring to their command of the English language alone) were "possibly more mature in oral language ability" (1970:133) which was 'not surprising' since the Māori children's English was perhaps being influenced by the Māori language, "since, even in Māori homes where there was ostensibly no Māori language spoken, the parents' English would possibly have been affected by the influence of Māori language in their youth". (emphasis in the original) (1970:133)

Results of Hall's (1976) acoustic analysis of New Zealand indicated that the vowels which she analysed of Māori speakers whose first language was Māori, were different from those of the Māori speakers whose first language was English.

Initially, in writings concerning this topic, ME was an assumed variety of NZE but as research into finding and describing specifics of this variety continued it proved to be 'elusive' to some researchers, leading a small number of writers to doubt its existence.

Janet McCallum concluded in her examination of the use of non-standard past tense verb forms that despite "clearly significant differences between the number of non-standard forms used by both groups" (1978:137) of young Māori and Pākehā children the "evidence for a separate and potentially stable dialect [was] scarcely convincing". As both Māori groups were "producing between 84 & 90% standard verb forms ... the similarities vastly [outweighed] the differences". (1978:142)

Jacob found 'a number of significant grammatical differences in the speech of Māori and Pākehā women' who supplied data for her survey of verb forms and negative concord but was reluctant to posit the results as evidence for a separate variety stating merely 'that there are indications in the data of a distinctive variety of ME'. (1991:68) She examined the speech of 10 Māori and 10 Pākehā women of lower socio-economic status aged between 25 & 37 who had resided in Levin for most of their lives. The Māori group's production of standard forms of the variables being examined was greater than the production of non-standard forms. Jacob concluded that the differences were likely to be the result of the different ethnic backgrounds of the two groups of women and that these differences were indicative of a "distinctive variety" of ME.

The 1991 Wellington Social Dialect Survey carried out by researchers at Victoria University looked at five linguistic variables: the dropping of /h/, reduction of /ing/ to /in/, merger of the vowels in words like ear and air, deletion of the perfect marker have and the use of the discourse tag eh. The findings revealed that these variables were influenced by all the social factors examined and

while ethnicity was an important factor affecting most of the variables, it was usually in interaction with gender and age. (1991:ii). Though incorporating a Māori language questionnaire the primary function of this was to make certain that the respondents' first language was either Māori or English and not to compare the speech of bilingual Māori/English speakers with English speakers. That the Māori respondents in the Wellington Social Dialect Survey appeared to be in opposing groups¹⁴ of equal numbers using quite contrary patterns of speech is an interesting finding and deserving of further investigation particularly from the point of view of 'registers' as discussed by King (1993) and Holmes (1996). One adult male Māori speaker in the current project used less strong forms while in the one-to-one interview situation than when in the classroom situation tutoring his class of mainly fluent te reo Māori speaking adults.

Allen (1990) and Britain (1992) examined the High Rising Terminals in the speech of Māori and Pākehā speakers. Allan's analysis was based on the data collected by Jacob (1991) while Britain used data collected during the Wellington Social Dialect Survey (Holmes, Bell & Boyce 1992). Britain confirmed Allan's (1990) findings that 'Maori tended to favour HRT use slightly more than Pakeha' (1992:89).

King (1993), using the same approach as Hall's (1976) examination of the back vowels and diphthongs of 15 Māori and 15 Pākehā New Zealand males, found that the "back vowels and diphthongs of the ME speakers showed considerably more movement and even stress than the corresponding PE speakers." (p39) She goes on to suggest that the "Positions of realization of the back vowels and even stress of diphthongs are features of ME." (p45)

Meyerhoff (1994) found a considerable difference in the frequency of use of the tag eh in a comparative analysis of the speech of Māori and Pākehā speakers. Eh occurred much more frequently in the speech of the Māori respondents. Results were similar when the use of the same

¹⁴Holmes (et al) explain that for any given variable examined and a trend identified for that variable a number of Māori speakers used it in that particular way while "at least as many other Māori speakers ... follow[ed] the contrary trend." (1991:96)

variable was compared in the speech of the Māori and Pākehā interviewers, Māori scoring 85% and Pākehā 16%.

2.4 Features of Māori Accented English

Benton's (1966) study of the speech of Māori school children in a number of North Island areas identified many features which he ascribed to what would nowadays be called Māori English.

These features are grouped by Benton as follows: (1966, 43 - 56)

- 1) Grammatical: Incorrect use of:- prepositions; articles; verbs; adverbs; pronouns and relative pronouns; nouns.
- 2) Structural: Inversion of word order
Use of simple sentences.
- 3) Prosodic Pragmatic Features [Intonation]:
HRT's "A distinctive rising intonation" such that confusions arose particularly in the interpretation of a question as a statement.
- 4) 'Syllable-timing'
 - (i) the use of /ʌ/ where one would expect the reduced forms of the vowel in the articles a and the which gives "a jerky rhythm in children's speech".
 - (ii) "undue stress is given to vowels and a primary stress on secondarily syllables in combinations such as home garden" and gives "a distinctive Māori accent to the speech of many Māori children.
- 5) Phonemic contrasts: The use of: /d/ for /ð/, /t/ for /θ/, /s/ for /z/ and others.
- 6) Lexical Items:
 - unusual noun combinations such as church house
 - intrusion of Māori words
 - vocabulary items, Eg; use of armies instead of soldiers.

Anderson & Aitken's (1968) study set out similar features, specifically:

- 1) Omissions of verbs, prepositions and articles.¹⁵
- 2) Incorrect use of prepositions, articles, verbs, pronouns and nouns.
- 3) Limited use of adjectives, tendency to use the 'one' form a great deal (Eg; We sold our one.) and a general lack of vocabulary.¹⁶

Grammatical :

McCallum (78) and Jacob (91) focussed on grammatical aspects namely the production of verbs. Mc Callum found that non-standard verb forms were produced by all the children whose speech she analysed but that "clearly significant differences" were found between the Māori and Pākehā groups, the Māori groups using more non-standard forms than the Pākehā groups. She concluded that there was a suggestion of a difference between ME and Standard English on a count of verb forms only. Her list of non-standard variables included;

- regular verbs: past tense - start for started, nil -ed
- irregular verbs: past tense - take or tooked for took
- nil was or is: Eg; 'he right in the snow'

Jacob analysing the speech of 10 Māori and 10 Pākehā women also found a number of significant grammatical differences between the groups. The Māori group used the forms which were being examined consistently more often than the Pākehā group and some differences occurred only in the Māori data.¹⁷ The following forms are of particular interest to this project;

- deletion of the auxiliary verb have in various environments, Eg 'You seen him dancing, eh?'
- the use of non-standard come.

¹⁵The 'elision' or 'omission' of articles is not mentioned by Benton but is said by Anderson & Aitken to be "one of the most common of all errors made by these children" (1968:57) The omission of the definite article was less frequent.

¹⁶Presumably English vocabulary.

¹⁷These were the "suppression of the auxiliary verb have in all other environments, the omission of be with be going to, and the use of double negatives." (p68)

The Wellington Social Dialect Survey also found more auxiliary have drop in the speech of the Māori participants and it occurred in environments in the Māori data which were avoided by the Pākehā speakers. The survey also found that the conversationally facilitative tag eh was overwhelmingly marked for Māori rather than Pākehā, Māori speakers applied more /h/ drop than Pākehā speakers and that the ear/air distinction was less apparent in the speech of Māori than Pākehā speakers. (1991:96)

Prosodic Pragmatic Features:

Allan (90), using Jacob's data, found that the Māori women used more HRT's (high rising terminal contours) than the Pākehā women, and Britain (1992) who analysed this feature in the speech of the 75 speakers in the Wellington Social Dialect Survey (Holmes, Bell & Boyce, 1992) found the same to be true of the Māori speakers in that survey. Though neither claim that this feature is a feature of ME both research projects found that Māori used more of this feature than Pākehā. Britain comments that it is the "young Māori speakers [who] appear to be most advanced in the use of this innovative feature" (1992:89) yet it would appear to be very similar to the "distinctive rising intonation" identified by Benton approx 25 years earlier whereby questions were frequently interpreted as statements by the Māori children in his study. Perhaps it is a feature that 'drops away' as the speakers age. Robertson (1994) also analysed this feature and commented that though it is stereotypically associated with Māori speakers it is not necessarily a particularly salient feature as the middle aged female Māori speaker in her project was generally identified as Māori despite the absence of HRT's in her speech. The tokens produced, though only a very small number, were by speakers in groups who were expected to be most likely, by Robertson, to be users of HRT's based on previous research, ie Māori speakers, or Māori sounding speakers, of English.

Syllable-Timing:

Syllable-timing is the feature that has, perhaps, received the most attention in projects examining ME. The element being analysed is vowel production.

Hall's (1976) analysis of the speech of 15 Māori and 15 Pākehā males in Northland revealed that the Māori tended to have closer front vowels and opener back vowels than the Pākehā. She concluded that the differences in the production of these vowels by the Māori was due to the fact that their first language was Māori. King (1993) concluded that the Māori speakers in her sample did have a ME accent as the back vowels showed considerably more movement and the diphthongs were produced with even stress compared to the Pākehā speakers and that these features were features of ME.

Ainsworth (1993) in her study of five newsreading styles from five radio stations found evidence for NZE being more syllable-timed than RP and that ME was even more syllable-timed than the other NZE styles she analysed. She states that the practice of using full vowels in place of reduced vowels in grammatical or form words in unstressed positions is a salient feature of ME. These grammatical or form words were identified using Gimson's (1975) list of grammatical or form words which have two realisations of the vowel depending on whether the words are used in stressed or unstressed positions. Ainsworth & Holmes (work in progress) refer to 'mora-timed languages' where the rhythmic pattern is more similar to syllable timing than to stress timing. "In particular, a mora-timed language does not go in for vowel reduction ... [and] syllable-timing can be defined as the tendency for all syllables, not just stressed syllables, to occur at roughly equal intervals of time." (Ainsworth & Holmes Unpublished manuscript p1). This feature was analysed by Ainsworth & Holmes using a sample of 80 speakers from the Wellington Social Dialect Survey to compare the production of the vowels in grammatical or form words (also based on Gimson's (1975) list) and found that the Māori groups used more full vowels where reduced vowels would be expected in NZE. As part of a larger study Robertson (1996) also examined this feature. She found 20 tokens of unstressed syllables where the expected pronunciation would be a reduced vowel and were identified using Gimson's list (mentioned above). She found that "full vowel use in unstressed syllables (which is the easiest measure of syllable-timing) shows some link with identity as Māori" though she also found that age may be an "influencing factor" as the younger speakers used this feature more often than the older speakers. Her results were not as conclusive as previous projects which could be due to the small number of tokens which occurred in her project.

Phonemic Contrasts:

Phonological features (/t, p, k, z, θ, ð/)

As Māori is a less aspirated language than English it is reasonable to assume that aspects of the English of ME speakers will be somewhat less aspirated than those of PE speakers. Robertson (1994) analysed syllable-initial (/t, p, k, /) and Holmes (1995) analysed initial /t/ and final /z/. Both projects confirmed that the ME speaking participants used the unaspirated variants more often than the PE speaking participants, thereby adding these features to the list of salient features of ME.

Robertson (1994) also analysed the dental fricatives /θ/ and /ð/ but found no non-standard realisations of these variables, ie the dental fricatives /θ/ and /ð/ being realised as alveolar stops [t] or [d] or as labio-dental fricatives [f] or [v].

Lexical Items - Pragmatic Tag, 'eh':

This feature is stereotypically associated with Māori speakers and is possibly one of the more salient markers of ME. Ashton-Warner describes eh as being the equivalent to "Isn't it? Don't we? Don't you think? and like phrases" in PE as it is "used constantly in Māori chat at the end of a sentence". (1963:70) She also comments that it is a particle used heavily in Māori speech and that it is a "carry-over from the Māori language, from nei."¹⁸ This was supported by Mary Boyce who pointed out to Meyerhoff that "eh has clear similarities to the Māori tag ne". (Meyerhoff, 1994:376) The Wellington Social Dialect Survey found that the conversationally facilitative tag eh was used overwhelmingly more often by Māori than Pākehā (1992:96). Meyerhoff (1994) analysed the speech of a sample group of working-class speakers from the Wellington Social Dialect Survey. She compared the number of eh tokens with the amount of talk time by dividing the number of eh's by the number of minutes of talk time, then multiplying by 100 and found "fairly clear support" that the pragmatic eh is found more often in the speech of Māori New Zealanders than Pākehā New Zealanders. As with HRT's Meyerhoff found this feature to be most

¹⁸Presumably, Ashton-Warner meant ne.

common in the speech of the younger participants, occurrences decreasing as the people get older.

3. METHODOLOGY

1. Subjects

1. Choice of Subjects

In order to determine if ME is a new variety of NZE or whether it is an evolving variety with mother tongue speakers it was decided to make a comparison between two age groups of speakers. The Māori school pupils who participated in this study have grown up in Christchurch, a city known for its conservativeness and proportionately small Māori population. Department of Statistics figures from the 1991 census show that the Percentage of people who are of Māori descent is 5.5% of the total population of Christchurch.¹⁹ If the young Māori participants and their Māori elders in this project, who are bilingual in Māori and English are behaving linguistically similarly this will add strength to the argument for the existence of ME as a variety of NZE. It will also support the contention that ME is not a 'developing' variety because it has mother tongue speakers.

The first language of all the older Māori contributors in this research project is te reo Māori so it is reasonable to assume that the English speech of these contributors would have more features of ME, because their English is likely to be more influenced by their first language which they continue to speak. It was anticipated that the younger Māori participants would have more ME features in their speech than either of the Pākehā groups, particularly the older Pākehā who are likely to be representative of the more conservative speakers of PE. If the younger Pākehā speakers have

¹⁹People of Maori Descent living in Christchurch according to the 1991 Census.

Main Urban Figure

Ethnic Identification	Male Proportion	Female	Total
1) Solely NZ Maori 66.2%	5838	5211	11049
2) NZ Maori & NZ European 31.6%	2752	2523	5275
3) NZ Maori & NZ European & Pacific Island 0.6%	48	60	108
4) NZ Maori & Pacific Island 1.2%	105	102	207
5) NZ Maori & Other 0.4%	27	33	60
Totals	8767	7929	16696
100.%			
Total Population of Christchurch	145938	155517	301455
Proportion of People of Maori descent living in Christchurch			
5.5%			

more features in their speech, identified in ME, which were not present in the speech of older PE speakers or occurred to a lesser extent then this could support the notion that NZE is being influenced by ME.

A sample of speakers was sought which would be representative of the two major ethnic²⁰ groups within New Zealand, specifically Māori and Pākehā. The initial intention was to gather data from secondary school pupils, Māori and Pākehā, female and male and from older Māori people bilingual in Māori and English using equal numbers of male and female.

Primary and Secondary school pupils were chosen for several reasons but primarily for convenience. Interviewing subjects at school would be less disruptive and less of a concern for them than having a stranger come to their home or vice versa, especially if any sort of follow up meetings were required. It is also easier and less time consuming to visit a school to gather data as interviews can be set up one after another on the one location without having to worry about travelling time between interviews. Though teacher permission and co-operation were required to use school time and facilities this kind of adult permission was needed only once.

Benton's subjects were all below the age of 16 years an important age in sociolinguistic terms as this is purported to be a time when young adults may be choosing certain behaviours, including linguistic, to show to which group they identify. It is claimed by various writers (cf. Labov, 1989; Milroy, 1980) that age is an important factor when examining language variation and it is believed that pre-pubescent children do not make conscious choices about the variety of a language they are speaking. Therefore, if the two younger groups of Māori, ie the primary and secondary pupils, have similar proportions of features of ME in their speech then this might indicate that the adolescent groups were not necessarily consciously choosing their way of speaking in order to show with which group they identified.

²⁰Though ethnic as an adjective frequently refers to a minority group it is being used here, and elsewhere in this thesis, to refer to any particular group which is connected by common descent. While this falls somewhat short for the Pakeha groups in New Zealand the group being examined is mainly the group whose ancestors originate in Great Britain and Ireland and whose first language is English.

Anonymity was an important consideration with a reasonable number of the contributors. One contributor wanted no-one to know that s/he was participating and would not fill out the permission form in case it could be traced and does not want the recording of the interview to be kept once this project is completely finished. This recording is to be heard only by myself and the supervisor of this project. Needless to say, the tape recording of this person will not be kept in the linguistic archives either. Other contributors felt similarly, though did not care if their recordings were heard by other bona-fide researchers, would not want their recordings to be heard by the wider public.

2. Sampling

(a) Methodology

The groups were selected using sociolinguistically recognised sampling methodologies. Though 'random' selection generally ensures that the data from speakers is representative of the group being analysed I was unable to use this method for various reasons, including time constraints. I used the 'judgement' or 'quota' method for selecting the older participants whereby I decided in advance about the social background of the subjects in my sample. In this case Māori people who are bilingual in Māori and English and whose first language was Māori and older Pākehā who spoke general New Zealand English.

(b) Sample groups

The original sample group of two major sub-groups, i.e. Māori and Pākehā secondary school pupils and older bilingual Māori, was enlarged. The new sample group was designed to include a comparison of four age groups of people; Primary, High School, University, and Older (over about 27 years), with equal numbers of female and male, Māori and Pākehā, and at least five people per cell. Holmes (et al) indicate that on the basis of previous researchers such as Labov (1966), Trudgill (1974), Milroy (1987), and others five speakers in each cell is an acceptable minimum.

Table 1: Composition of subjects in the original sample group

	Primary		High School		University		Older		
	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	
Māori	4	4	13	19		2	7	6	= 55
Pākehā	4	4	9	8			6	7	= 38
Total Contributors									= 93

However, time constraints rendered transcribing and counting of tokens a difficult task and the sample size was consequently reduced. The primary Pākehā pupils and university groups were not included and the numbers in the high school groups and older groups were reduced. The final sample group contained 54 people and comprises thirty four secondary school pupils with almost equal numbers of Māori and Pākehā, male and female, and twenty adults also with equal numbers of Māori and Pākehā, male and female.

The extra 39 recordings, later omitted from the project, are composed of interviews with sixteen primary school children, (8 female, 4 male and 4 Pākehā; 8 male, 4 Māori and 4 Pākehā), two male Māori university students, an older male Māori, fifteen Māori high school pupils (four female, eleven male), two older female Māori, two older male and one older female Pākehā.

Table 2: Composition of extra 39 subjects later omitted from the research project

	Primary		High School		University		Older		
	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	
Māori	4	4	4	11	0	2	2	1	= 28
Pākehā	4	4	0	0	0	0	1	2	= 11
Total Contributors									= 39

Table 3: Composition of 54 subjects in final sample group

	High School		Older		
	Female	Male	Female	Male	
Māori	9	8	5	5	= 27
Pākehā	9	8	5	5	= 27
Total Contributors					= 54

3. Contacting Participants

(a) Primary Groups

The hierarchy of a local primary school was approached and asked if data could be collected for the project by means of interviews with pupils attending their schools. This school is located in a lower socio-economic area in Christchurch and has a significant percentage of Māori and Polynesian pupils on its roll. Permission was received to go ahead with collecting the data and an assurance was given by me that this activity would not overly interfere with pupils' school time. The Assistant Principal selected the children she thought best suited the requirements of the study.

(b) Teenage Groups

The same approach as that made to the primary school was made to the hierarchy of two local high schools both situated in lower socio-economic areas of Christchurch on opposite sides of the city and both have significant proportions of Māori and Polynesian pupils on their rolls.

(c) Schools

High School A

The contributors from High School A were contacted using the 'friend of a friend' technique through my relations attending the school. These pupils were in the 6th and 7th forms and attended a meeting at the school where I gave a general explanation of the nature of the project. From that meeting an appointment system, each appointment with a duration of thirty minutes, was set up.

High School B

In High School B the teachers of two classes of sixth formers gave the general explanation of the project to their classes and individuals from those classes volunteered to be interviewed. Of these eight volunteers of equal numbers of male and female, one male was Māori while the rest were Pākehā. I was able to give the general explanation of the project myself to the fifth form bilingual

class at this school and eight equal numbers of male and female Māori pupils volunteered to be interviewed.

(d) Older Groups

The older contributors, except one, are known to me personally, being family, friends, and colleagues of mine. The individual not previously known to me and who graciously agreed to be interviewed, was a colleague of three other participants of the project and happened to be in the right place at the right time (for me). Each person was contacted individually and invited to be part of the research project being given the same 'general explanation' as the younger participants. The interviews were conducted in various places determined by what was most convenient for the contributors and were in schools, at my home, at their homes, at their places of work or day-time occupation. The first and last parts of one Male Māori Adult's recording were done during a class while he was tutoring, the middle part, the largest part, was a one-to-one interview.

4. Background information on subjects

Information regarding language, social and family backgrounds was gained through the administration of questionnaires to each participant who spent approximately 10 minutes each completing the forms.

(a) Ethnicity

All participants were born and brought up in New Zealand. All of the Māori participants identified as Māori. The older Māori participants have very little or no Pākehā ancestry, (though a parent of one of the participants was a native of India) and ten of the seventeen Māori teenage participants have a Māori and a Pākehā parent each, the rest having Māori parents. Of the 54 parents of Māori participants three were not born in New Zealand. All of the Pākehā participants identified as Pākehā New Zealanders. None had any Māori ancestry and of the 54 parents nine were not born in New Zealand.

(b) Social Background

The Adult participants would be classed, in Pākehā terms, somewhere between lower middle to middle class on educational and income levels and occupation. The Teenagers would be similarly classed according to the same criteria being applied to their parents, though one or two might be considered to be nearer the working class category. Bayard (1987) comments on the fluidity of the social situation in New Zealand stating that "socio-economic class in New Zealand is very likely better viewed as a continuum with few clear cut breaks (unlike the U.K. situation)" (1987:11). His 'Dagg to Dougal continuum' (1987:16) describing the linguistic stratification in New Zealand ignores, however, the Māori dimension and I would like to suggest a 'Billy T (stereotypical equivalent of/to Dagg) to Peters (Dougal, perhaps, being a Pākehā equivalent, speech wise, of Winston) continuum'.

The concept of 'social stratification' into upper, middle and lower classes is culture specific and does not accurately indicate the same range of values and attitudes for the ethnic groups within New Zealand²¹. Māori society was and is hierarchical but is not as clear cut or the levels as remote from each other as the original European model on which the Pākehā New Zealand model is based and the values and ideals which place people in a social category are different. In Māori society mana (prestige, power, respect), which can only be given by the 'group' unless it has been acquired by heredity (and can still be lost), is more important than status and is, in fact, quite different from status as perceived by Pākehā New Zealanders.

A Māori who achieves status in the "western" world does not automatically gain mana in Māori society. Some do have both, but many Māori people who have mana in their own society have little status in the eyes of the "western" world. Mana can be acquired through a commitment to uphold the welfare and interests of the group. The way in which this is done is very important. People who have a

²¹p54 Viv Edwards

great deal of mana may nevertheless be very humble ..." (p9 Handbook for New Zealand Teachers.)²²

(c) Language Background

Māori Participants

In the 70's the research of Richard Benton carried out in selected Northland communities demonstrated that te reo Māori was no longer the first language of the majority of Māori children, that it was being replaced by English. This situation was different to what he had found during the 60's when, while doing a language survey, he "did not hear any English spoken spontaneously by children at play." (1979:10)

Twenty five of the twenty seven Māori participants have varying degrees of competency and fluency²³ in te reo Māori. All the adult Māori speakers are bilingual in Māori and English. One adult male Māori learned Māori and English concurrently as first languages while the first language of the other nine was Māori, not learning English until they began school at the age of about five or six. Two Māori secondary school pupils indicated that their first languages were Māori and English. Two of the Māori high school pupils, a male and a female, have not learned Māori at any stage, the rest have learned Māori as a second language. Some of these Māori secondary school pupils began learning at Intermediate school, but most began at secondary school and these fifteen female and male Māori Teenagers (henceforth MT) have a very good command of written, aural and oral te reo Māori.

²²"The work is based on work done by Rose Pere and was drawn together by a group which met at the Arney Road Teachers' Resource Centre, comprising Rose Pere, Tilly Reedy, Mary Whata, Don Rameka, Joe Malcolm, Ian Stuart, Bob Penetiti and Michael Keith." (p5 of the same handbook)

²³While competency can vary because I personally know all but one of the adult participants in this project either as my friends and/or colleagues and know the teenage participants from high school A reasonably well through my relations who attend the school I am in a position to gauge their levels of competency in te Reo Māori. All but one of the Māori pupils from high school B I had met while on section at their school when they were in the third form and I am also reasonably well acquainted with their teacher. The Pākehā pupils from high school B were the only complete strangers.

Pākehā Participants

It is common knowledge that a very small percentage of Pākehā New Zealanders have ever learned te reo Māori and it would be extremely rare for any to have learned te reo Māori as a first language.

The greater percentage of the Pākehā informants were monolingual in English with a few having varying degrees of knowledge of and competency in te Reo Māori. Of the Pākehā Adult (henceforth PA) participants one male and one female have some familiarity with te reo Māori, both having taken lessons in the basics. However, the male said he was unsuccessful in his attempts to learn the language but he had managed to acquire a limited comprehension of aural Māori. The female had more competency in written Māori, and had some competence in oral and comprehension of aural Māori. Of the Pākehā Teenagers (henceforth PT) one male and one female also had some familiarity with te reo Māori. The male had completed very successful elementary te reo Māori courses in his third and fourth form years while the female had been learning te reo Māori for four years and is reasonably competent in all forms of te reo Māori at her level, though has less competency in the oral form. None of the rest of the Pākehā participants had any degree of fluency in or understanding of te reo Māori.

Table 4: Degree of Competency in te reo Māori among the Participants

	Adults (n=10)	Teenagers (n=17)	Total % Competent in Māori
Number of Māori			
competent in Māori	10	15	92.5%
Number of Pākehā			
competent in Māori	2	2	15.0%

(d) Parental Influences

Three Māori teenage participants indicated that one each of their parents is bilingual in English and Māori and their first languages were English and Māori. Four other Māori teenage participants indicated that the first language of one each of their parents was Māori.

Trudgill points out that "children of parents who speak with an accent different from that of the area they are living in [often] become bidialectal, and speak like their parents as well as their peers." (1983:32). Though Trudgill is referring to situations where families move into a new area the idea can be extended to include individuals who accommodate their speech to that of the people they find themselves with and this accommodation can also occur in adulthood as in the case of a bidialectal Pākehā husband of a PE speaking female Māori. He teaches at a local High School in the bilingual unit. It would seem that the children of foreign born parents who contributed to this project have conformed to the general linguistic observation that children use "the dialect and accent of their friends and not those of their parents or teachers" (1983:31) as their speech was not noticeably different from the speech of the other participants in their groups. The speech of the ten participants whose parents were born out of New Zealand was no different from the speech of their peers, that is their speech did not have traces of the speech of their foreign born parents.

2. Collection of data

1 Data Collection

The data was collected by means of informal interviews which were conducted on a one-to-one basis with the exceptions of five Female Māori Teenagers (henceforth FMT) who were in two groups of two and three for their interviews, eight Male Māori Teenagers (henceforth MMT) who were in two groups of three and five, and the primary groups who were in groups of two or three in order to make them feel more comfortable²⁴.

²⁴The FMT were in the final sample group while the MMT and primary groups mentioned here were not.

2 Duration of Interviews²⁵

All adult contributors' interviews were of a reasonable duration ranging from about 10 to 60 minutes. All contributors were sufficiently relaxed, though the four oldest contributors, a Male Māori Adult (henceforth MMA), a Male Pākehā Adult (henceforth MPA) and two Female Pākehā Adults (henceforth FPA) tended a little toward the 'formal'. Where the Pākehā are concerned this could be due to a consciousness on their parts of their manner of speaking, having undergone elocution lessons in their youth.

The durations of the Teenage contributors' interviews were generally shorter, except for the Female and Male Pākehā and one Female Māori from the first school whose interviews ranged from 15 to 30 minutes. The rest of the interviews were shorter, some as short as 6 minutes. In one case the young man being interviewed was so shy that keeping him there for as long as I did and getting him to talk were quite an achievement. Perhaps it would have been better to have included him in a group setting but the same problem with his shyness of the interviewer and the strangeness of the situation may still have been a major one. The other shorter interviews were due to classroom pressures on the pupils and time and travel difficulties for the interviewer. To quote Jacob (1991) this was a "one woman affair", there were many constraints, this was merely one of them.

3 Speech Style

The vernacular is considered to be the ideal speech style for this type of analysis and this was the style I was hoping to elicit. Though I was generally successful, there were a few contributors who were not as relaxed as one would wish and their speech styles tended toward the formal, self monitored or somewhat stilted. However, as whatever style was used is obviously one of a repertoire and probably appropriate to the particular situation I decided to stay with whatever I was able to obtain. In addition to that, as most of the contributors to this research are acquaintances of mine or close family members, I was in the position of knowing what speech

²⁵Only approximately 6-10 minutes of each interview was transcribed phonetically for analysis.

styles were being used by them. In most cases it was a relaxed style. As Edwards (1979) notes it was found that speakers do not necessarily always vary their speech in any significant way in various situations.

4 The 'General Explanation'

The general explanation given was that this project aimed to examine aspects of everyday speech in a particular social setting, focussing on the speech of young Christchurch people using equal numbers of male and female, Māori and Pākehā from schools in different parts of the city and then comparing their speech to that of their elders to see what sorts of changes might be taking place in NZE. At the end of interviewing each person was given a more detailed explanation of the project, ie that the main comparison was between Māori and Pākehā NZE. They were also encouraged to ask questions and make any observations they wished.

6 The recording of Participants

A Sony Radio Cassette Corder WM-GX51 Recording Walkman fitted with C90 tapes small enough to be hand held was used. Contributors, who were being interviewed on a one-to-one basis, were asked to take control of the machine fitting the microphone themselves to the collar of their clothing. Being in control of the tape recorder gave the contributor a sense of confidence as he or she had the control to turn the machine on and off whenever it was felt necessary to do so. In most instances this was successful and encouraging for the contributor. In group situations a conference microphone was used with the tape recorder and placed in a situation which was accessible but not particularly noticeable and I usually controlled the on/off switch at the same time trying not to be intrusive. For ethical reasons there was no secret recording at all and permission was sought from all contributors before any recording was done.

In the group of recordings which was eventually not used in this research, one of the older male Pākehā recordings was lost, possibly recorded over. Of the remaining two older Pākehā recordings the older female recording was superfluous and the older male speaker spoke with a 'Southland'

rhotic accent. Had the linking /r/'s from his contribution been included in the results the Pākehā number of this feature under examination would have been inflated, rendering those particular results more representative of Southland speech.

7 Transcription of Data

Once the data was collected, the recordings were transcribed in conventional orthographic fashion with little or no punctuation and then, with the exception of the Pākehā adults' data, relevant sentences and phrases were transcribed phonetically for the purpose of representing the grammatical words and indicating whether they were used with full, intermediate or reduced forms. With the Pākehā adults' data the relevant words were highlighted using various colours for various words and as the material was listened to ticks (✓) were used to indicate the full form, ticks with a dash through the upwards stroke (✓) were used to indicate the intermediate forms and dashes (-) were used to indicate the reduced forms. Words which have several possible pronunciations, Eg; cause (abbreviation of because) as /kɔz/ or /kuz/, were transcribed phonetically unless an expected pronunciation, Eg; /kɔz/, was used and in which case ticks or dashes indicated the form.

3. Description of the data

1. The Corpus

The corpus consists of 49,677 words of which 9813 were closely examined as were 735 places where linking and intrusive /r/ could be expected to occur.

Table 5: Breakdown of Corpus

	Māori	Pākehā
Total words	26785	22892
Grammatical Words	5106	4707
Linking/Intrusive /r/	363	372

2. Choice of Variables

The list of grammatical words being examined in this project were chosen as a consequence of an earlier 1992 Honours project where it was noticed, during the collection of data, that there was a tendency, on the part of the Māori contributors, to pronounce these types of words with a full vowel. Benton (1966) during his analysis of ME remarked,

[There is] replacement of [the] indefinite vowel which is used in unstressed syllables in normal English speech. This vowel is the sound used in am, was, us, the (before consonants), at, then, etc, in unstressed positions. This sound is often replaced by a full vowel in the speech of Māori children. (p70)

During the transcribing and analysing of the data for this project other variables of interest were noticed. Phrases such as for a holiday, as said by the Māori contributors, often lacked the indefinite article and was said as for holiday. Elision between phrases occurred and phrases such as for about were heard as /fə baʊt/. Benton also remarked on the tendency of his young subjects to replace th with d; this occurred among the older and adolescent Māori contributors to this project. The Māori contributors used a great deal more Māori lexicon and with Māori pronunciation, than the Pākehā contributors.

As a particular focus of this study is syllable-timing in ME a selection of grammatical words was analysed. All of these words are mentioned in Gimson's (1976) list of the same. Words in accented environments which are given full realizations of the vowels were not included in the analysis. For example that and for in the sentence 'Is that what it was for?' would not be included, but was would be, as it could be said with a full or reduced realization of the vowel.

As English is a stress-timed language, it is expected that the vowels will be reduced in grammatical words in unstressed environments. Various writers, including Benton (1966) and Mitcalfe (1967), have commented on the distinctive rhythm of ME which has been attributed to the

pronunciation patterns of multi-syllable words and the use of full forms of vowels in environments where, in PE, reduced forms would normally be used. Benton describes a ME pronunciation of the definite article thus, "When it [the reduced form which has been replaced by a full vowel] occurs in the ... it is usually replaced by a sound like the u in up." (p70) Other researchers Hall (1976), King (1993), Ainsworth (1993), Robertson (1994), Ainsworth & Holmes (work in progress) and Holmes (1996) have analysed this feature and all found that Māori pronounce vowels in a different way to Pākehā, using more full vowels where reduced would be expected and using even stress on diphthongs.

In te reo Māori all vowels are pronounced whether occurring singly, doubly (ie diphthongs), or longer and have two lengths, short or long. It is likely that the ME pronunciation of grammatical words not only influences syllable-timing but other features as well including liaison between words, elision of vowels and omission of words.

3. Grammatical Words

Of the 42 most common words, which fall into 11 single and 3 diphthong vowel groups, in connected speech listed by Gimson (1976), 22 were analysed in terms of use of full or reduced forms. The 22 were generally representative of the vowel groups, with the exception of the /ɪ/ group, which was not analysed at all as the vowel is usually reduced, and the /i/ group, with the exception of we + verb, which was an oversight on my part. The words which could have been analysed but were not, represented 29% of the total possibilities. This figure was arrived at through a count of these words in the data of the female Māori and male Pākehā. However, 15 of the 19 words listed by Gimson as occurring with over 90% weak forms were analysed in this project. The 4 not analysed were his, be, been and shall. Shall did not occur in the data at all. Of the diphthong groups only I + verb was analysed. It is unlikely that the results arrived at in this project would have altered very much had all occurrences in the data of the 42 words been included in the analysis.

The Grammatical words examined were as follows:

Grammatical Words

Expected pronunciations in General NZE

	<u>full form</u>	<u>weak forms</u> ²⁶
for	fɔ	fɪ fə f'
your (inclusive) = your, yourself, you're	jɔ	jɪ jə
you (inclusive) = you, you've, you'll, you'd	ju	jɪ jə
to	tu	tɪ tə t'
a	eɪ	ɪ ə
the	ði	ði ðə
but	bʌt	bɪt bət
we're	we	wɪ wə
them	ðem	ðɪm ðəm
were	wɜ	wɪ wə
her	hɜ	hɪ hə
of	ɒv	ɪv əv
from	fɹɒm	fɹɪm fɹəm
was	wɒz	wɪz wəz
cause	kɒz	kɪz kəz
and	ænd	ɪnd end ɪn ən
at	æt	ɪt et
that (inclusive) = that'd; that'll	ðæt	ðɪt ðæt
as	æz	ɪz əz
are	ɑ	ɪ ə
we've	wɪv	wɪv wəv

These words were grouped as follows for further analysis:

ɔ	for; your (inclusive)
u	to; you (inclusive)
ʌ	a; the; but
e	we're; them
ɜ	were; her

²⁶/ɹ/, for example in /fɹ/, represents a sound which is even less than a schwa.

ɒ of; from; was; cause

æ and; at; that; as

4. Other Features

During the course of transcription and analysis of the data several other features, besides grammatical words, became of interest and are as follows:

(a) Liaison.

In the environment where for example the definite article is followed by a word beginning with a vowel we would expect the /ði/ form in PE. The ME pronunciation of the definite article is frequently /ðʌ/ and occurs before words beginning with a vowel or a consonant. This also occurs with the indefinite article though to a lesser degree, ie the /ʌ/ form is used in this environment. The reduced forms of the articles also occur in this environment. To was also examined in terms of full use of the /u/ vowel which is the expected form in this environment.

(b) Linking and intrusive 'r'.

Bayard (1987) noticed, while examining the influence of Standard American English on the NZE of New Zealand students and staff from the "upper end of the socio-economic scale" at Dunedin University, that there seemed to be a "slight tendency" on the part of the younger speakers to use "somewhat less linking R" though there appeared to be no difference in the use of intrusive R. Seventy seven percent of the students were from the southern areas of the South Island and there was no mention of ethnicity (Bayard 1987:7-15). Often in phrases such as for about in ME the phrase is said as /fɔː baut/. This is, presumably, influenced by the use of the full form of the vowel in the preposition for and possible because of the fact that there is no schwa in te reo Māori.

(c) Elision of vowels

In this section the word about is examined, though there were other examples in the Māori data.

(d) Omissions of words

Phrases such as for a holiday in ME are often heard as /fɔ hɔlədeɪ/. The full form of the vowel in the preposition is used and the article is omitted. Other omissions of words were apparent in sentences such as "Is that someone you yelling out to, out there?" where the verb were is omitted.

(e) Non-standard Verb Forms

In the data of both groups non-standard past tense forms were used with certain verbs. The most common word affected was come which was frequently said as, 'when I first come down here to Christchurch'.

(f) Voiced Interdental Fricative /ð/.

The realisation of /ð/ as being closer to /d/ in ME has been commented on by various writers including Benton (1966) and Holmes (1996) and was noticed in the speech of some speakers in this project.

(e) Māori lexicon and Pronunciation of Māori.

Māori tended to use more and a larger range of Māori words and phrases in the general course of conversation during this project and when this occurred the Māori contributors' pronunciation of Māori was generally Māori Māori whereas the Pākehā tended to use Pākehā Māori.

4. RESULTS

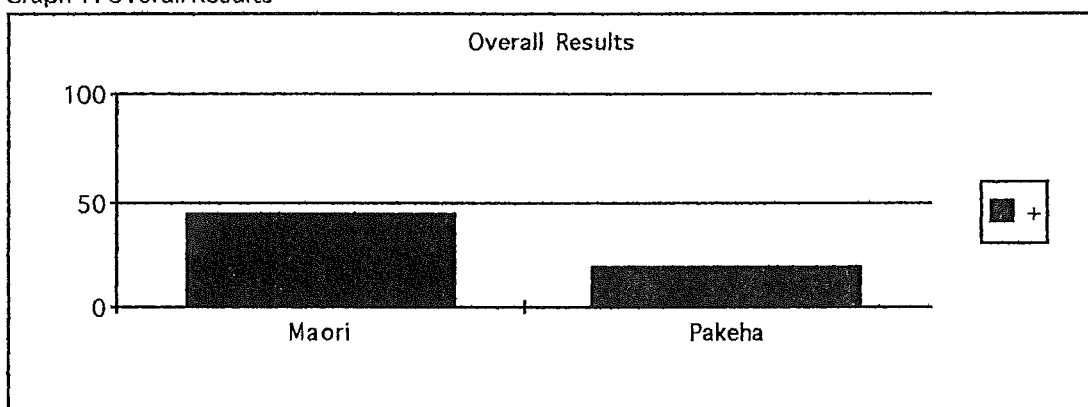
4.1 Results

Overall

The overall results, illustrated in the graph below, show clearly that Māori articulate grammatical words in unaccented environments with 'full' realizations of the vowels more often than Pākehā. They do so by two and a half (2.5) times although both groups pronounce with a full realization of the vowels less than 50% of the time, Māori 44.5% vs Pākehā 18.0%.

	Māori	Pākehā
Total Tokens	5142	4714
Total full forms	2291 (44.5%)	872 (18.0%)
Māori/Pākehā ratio: 2.5		

Graph 1: Overall Results



Grammatical Words

The individual words follow the same trend as the overall results in that Māori pronounce the vowels in each of the grammatical words, with the exception of we've, with a full realization of the vowel more often than Pākehā.

ARE

Full form: /a/

Reduced forms: /ɪ, ə/

Example: MMA5: I said those days [a ouvə] now

Māori

Number of tokens 62

Full forms 34 (55%)

Māori/Pākehā Ratio: 19

Pākehā

Number of tokens 34

Full forms 1 (3%)

WAS

Full form: /ɒ/

Reduced forms: /ɪ, ə/

Example: FMT2: there [wɒz Δ] league tournament

Māori

Number of tokens 295

Full forms 71 (63.5%)

Māori/Pākehā Ratio: 9

Pākehā

Number of tokens 270

Full forms 7 (2.5%)

YOUR/YOU'RE/YOURSELF

Full forms: /ɔ, u/

Reduced forms: /ɪ, ə/

Examples: FMA5: I think its important that [jɔ Δm, jɔ] mainstream

MMT4: it's [ju]own opinion

FMA2: It's time to expand [jɔ] world when [jɔ] young

FMA5: you need to learn [mo bau? jɔsewf]

Māori

Number of tokens 63
Full forms 38 (60.0%)

Māori/Pākehā Ratio: 10

Pākehā

Number of tokens 32
Full forms 2 (6.0%)

Table 6: Distribution of /jɔ/ Variants used with full forms of the vowel - Māori & Pākehā

		your	you're	yourself/-ves
Māori	Tokens	32	25	6
	Full forms	25	10	3
	Percentage	78.0%	40.0%	50%
Pākehā	Tokens	16	14	2
	Full Forms	2		
	Percentage	6.0%		

Only the Māori groups used the /jɔ/ and intermediate variants. The Māori groups used full forms on all variants while the Pākehā groups used the full /jɔ/ form on the possessive pronoun your only.

OF²⁷

Full forms: /ɒ, ɔ, ʌ/

Reduced forms: /ɪ, ə/

Examples: FMT5: there's ten [ɒv ʌs]

FMT9: instead [ɒv] me paying

MMT1: outside [ʌ] like

MāoriPākehā

²⁷These results include phrases such as 'sort of', 'lots of', etc. In the Māori data there were 129 of these phrases; 24 were with the full form (15 with the /ɒ/ vowel, 4 with the /ɔ/ vowel and 5 with the /ʌ/ vowel), a proportion of 18.5%. In the Pākehā data there were 202 of these phrases, 10 with the full form (3 with the /ɒ/ vowel, 2 with the /ɔ/ vowel and 5 with the /ʌ/ vowel), a proportion of 5.0%. The Māori/Pākehā ratio was 4.

Number of tokens 334

Number of tokens 469

Full forms 88 (26.5%)

Full forms 27 (6.0%)

Māori/Pākehā Ratio: 4.5

Pronunciations of the preposition of involved more variation. There were three clear full vowels (/ɒ/, /ɔ/ and /ʌ/), a reduced vowel (/ɪ/ or /ə/) and also one which was intermediate, somewhere between full and reduced.

Of the 88 full vowel form occurrences in the Māori data, 70 occurred with the /ɒ/ vowel, 12 with the /ɔ/ vowel and 6 with the /ʌ/ vowel. Of the 27 full vowel form occurrences in the Pākehā data 18 occurred with the /ɒ/ vowel, 2 with the /ɔ/ vowel and 5 with the /ʌ/ vowel.

Table 7: Distribution of full forms of of - Māori and Pākehā

Variant	Māori		Pākehā	
	Tokens	%	Tokens	%
/ɒ/	70	21.0	18	4.0
/ɔ/	12	3.6	2	0.5
/ʌ/	6	2.0	7	1.5
Total	334		469	

FOR

Full form: /ɔ/

Reduced forms: /ɪ, ə/

Example: MMT 5: so this year they're going [fɔ] sixth form

Māori

Number of tokens 178

Full forms 114 (64.0%)

Māori/Pākehā Ratio: 4

Pākehā

Number of tokens 147

Full forms 23 (15.5%)

YOU

Full form: /u/

Reduced forms: /ɪ, ə/

Example: FMA3: its something [ju] learn [æn wen ju] get familiar

Māori

Number of tokens 215

Full forms 135 (63.0%)

Māori/Pākehā Ratio: 4.5

Pākehā

Number of tokens 192

Full forms 34 (14.5%)

/ju/ consists of the pronoun you when used with or without the contracted forms of certain verbs. The tag 'you know' was not included in the results.

YOU + contracted form of a verb ie; you've, you'd and you'll

e.g. FMA5: when [juv] got past the

FMA3: ... [juv] be able to see it

There were 12 occurrences of YOU + the contracted form of HAVE, WOULD or WILL in the Māori data and 22 in the Pākehā data. The contracted forms in the Pākehā data were you've (20 tokens) and you'll (2 tokens). The contracted forms in the Māori data were you've (6 tokens), you'd (2 tokens) and you'll (4 tokens). The reduced /ɪ/ or /ə/ forms have been included in these results as they are commonly used by both Māori and Pākehā, they are not counted as HAVE-DROPS. There are too few tokens to bother with any percentages and ratios.

Table 8: Distribution of You + contracted forms of verbs used with full forms of the vowel - Māori and Pākehā

		<u>you've</u>	<u>you'd</u>	<u>you'll</u>
Māori	Tokens	6	2	4
	Full forms	2		4
Pākehā	Tokens	20		2
	Full Forms			1

The Māori groups used the full form of the vowel in you've and you'll while the Pākehā groups used the full form of the vowel in you'll only.

THAT

Full form: /æ/

Reduced forms: /ɪ, ə/

Example: FMT 9: I hate the bit [ðæʔ] she starts

Māori

Number of tokens 151
Full forms 132 (87.5%)

Māori/Pākehā Ratio: 4

Pākehā

Number of tokens 149
Full forms 36 (24.0%)

TO

Overall

Full form: /u, ʌ/

Reduced forms: /ɪ, ə/

Māori

Number of tokens 659
Full forms 256 (39.0%)

Pākehā

Number of tokens 537
Full forms 58 (11.0%)

Māori/Pākehā Ratio: 3.5

There were two full forms of the vowel, /u/ and /ʌ/, an intermediate form somewhere between the full /u/ and reduced forms, /ɪ/ and /ə/.

TO preceding a word beginning with a vowel

Full form: /u/

Reduced forms: /ɪ, ə/

Example: FMA5: closest [tu] ahakoa

Māori

Number of tokens 79

Full forms 51 (64.5%)

Māori/Pākehā Ratio: 1

Pākehā

Number of tokens 50

Full forms 28 (56.0%)

TO preceding a word beginning with a consonant

Full form: /u, ʌ/

Reduced forms: /ɪ, ə/

Example: MMT8: we went [tu dʌ] ministry

MMT1: we had [tʌ] learn it

Māori

Number of tokens 580

Full forms 197 (34.0%) /u/

8 (1.5%) /ʌ/

205 (35.0%)

Māori/Pākehā Ratio: 6

Pākehā

Number of tokens 487

Full forms 28 (6.0%) /u/

2 (0.5%) /ʌ/

30 (6.0%)

A (preceding words beginning with consonants. An is dealt with separately below)

Full forms: /ei, ʌ/

Reduced forms: /ɪ, ə/

Example: FMA1: in [ei] newspaper

MMT2: he's [ʌ] fluent Māori speaker

Māori

Number of tokens	473
Full forms	4 (0.8%) /ei/
	77 (16.0%)
	81 (17.0%)

Pākehā

Number of tokens	495
Full forms	8 (1.5%) /ei/
	20 (4.0%)
	28 (5.5%)

Māori/Pākehā Ratio: 3

There were two clear full forms of the indefinite article a, /ei/ and /ʌ/, an intermediate form somewhere between /ʌ/ and /ɪ/or/ə/ and a reduced form, /ɪ/ or /ə/.

AT

Full forms: /æ/

Reduced forms: /ɪ, ə/

Example: FMT1: um this period starts [æʔ], oh I mean finishes [æʔ] half past

Māori

Number of tokens	128
Full forms	87 (68.0%)

Pākehā

Number of tokens	114
Full forms	32 (28.0%)

Māori/Pākehā Ratio: 2.5

AS

Full forms: /æ/

Reduced forms: /ɪ, ə/

Example: FMA3: it's not just me [æz] a Māori ... there are pakehas [æz] well

Māori

Number of tokens 123

Full forms 50 (40.5%)

Māori/Pākehā Ratio: 2.5

Pākehā

Number of tokens 89

Full forms 15 (17.0%)

THEM

Full forms: /e/

Reduced forms: /ɪ, ə/

Example: FMT3: te reo Māori will benefit [ðem] in their career

Māori

Number of tokens 104

Full forms 25 (24.0%)

Māori/Pākehā Ratio: 2.5

Pākehā

Number of tokens 120

Full forms 12 (10%)

FROM

Full forms: /ɒ/

Reduced forms: /ɪ, ə/

Example: MMT1: yeah still feeling sore [frɒm] our last game

Māori

Number of tokens 56
Full forms 32 (57.0%)

Māori/Pākehā ratio: 2

Pākehā

Number of tokens 49
Full forms 13 (26.5%)

AND**Overall**

Full form: /æ/

Reduced forms: /ɪ, ə/

Māori

Number of tokens 785
Full forms 507 (64.5%)

Māori/Pākehā ratio: 2

Pākehā

Number of tokens 796
Full forms 250 (31.5%)

The and category was divided into two groups, (i) when used as a conjunction between words, Eg, "fish and chips", and (ii) as a conjunction between clauses and phrases, Eg, "it has been used wrongly and and that's just why I didn't want to give my name", or "um, and as friendly, and as open".

AND used as a conjunction between words

Example: FMT8: I just play touch [æɪ] netball

Māori

Number of tokens 135
Full forms 70 (52.0%)

Māori/Pākehā ratio: 4

Pākehā

Number of tokens 132
Full forms 18 (13.5%)

AND used as a conjunction between phrases or clauses

Example: FMA3: I went [æn] learned English at this primary school

<u>Māori</u>		<u>Pākehā</u>	
Number of tokens	650	Number of tokens	664
Full forms	437 (67.0%)	Full forms	232 (36.0%)
Māori/Pākehā ratio: 2			

AND + discourse markers

There were many and phrases which were not included in the above results because in these particular environments the /æ/ vowel is usually either reduced as often as not or used with a full vowel form as often as not. There were, however, some considerable differences between the ethnic groups in the use of these phrases worthy of mention, particularly the 'and everything' phrases where Māori used the full form of the vowel 22 times as often as the Pākehā. These phrases have also been divided into two groups, and occurred usually at the end of a clause presumably to give the speaker time to think of what to say next or just because the speaker had finished what he or she was saying.

(i) e.g., and ah; and um; and oh

<u>Māori</u>		<u>Pākehā</u>	
Number of tokens	128	Number of tokens	81
Full forms	126 (98.5%)	Full forms	68 (84.0%)
Māori/Pākehā ratio: 1			

(ii) e.g., and everything

<u>Māori</u>		<u>Pākehā</u>	
Number of tokens	106	Number of tokens	112
Full forms	23 (22.0%)	Full forms	1 (1.0%)

Māori/Pākehā ratio: 22

WERE

Full forms: /ɜ:/

Reduced forms: /ɪ, ə/

Example: FMA2: different concepts, they [wə kɒnflɪktɪŋ]

Māori

Number of tokens 43
Full forms 12 (28.0%)

Māori/Pākehā ratio: 2

Pākehā

Number of tokens 100
Full forms 14 (14.0%)

BUT

Full forms: /ʌ/

Reduced forms: /ɪ, ə/

Example: FMT3: I'm not all [ðæʔ] good [æʔ] cooking [bʌʔ], I like cooking [bʌʔ]

Māori

Number of tokens 314
Full forms 186 (59.0%)

Māori/Pākehā ratio: 2

Pākehā

Number of tokens 281
Full forms 87 (31.0%)

CAUSE/BECAUSE

Full forms: /u, ɒ, ɔ, ɜ:/

Reduced forms: /ɪ, ə/

Example: MMA2: and [kʊz] just now he he when he followed me out

MMA1: [bikɔz] I hadn't seen a boat yet

MMA3: [bikos] they been brought up

MPT1: [kɔz] I was goalie

Māori

Number of tokens	229
Full forms	79 (34.5%) /ʊ/
	34 (15.0%) /ɒ/
	9 (4.0%) /ɔ/
	122 (53.0%)

Pākehā

Number of tokens	178
Full forms	9 (5.0%) /ʊ/
	32 (18.0%) /ɒ/
	7 (4.0%) /ɔ/
	3 (1.5%) /ɜ/
	51 (28.5%)

Māori/Pākehā Ratio: 2

WE'RE

Full forms: /e/

Reduced forms: /ɪ, ə/

Example: FMT3: when [we] sixth form

Māori

Number of tokens	22
Full forms	15 (68.0%)

Māori/Pākehā ratio: 2

Pākehā

Number of tokens	24
Full forms	9 (38.0%)

HER

Full form: /ɜ/

Reduced forms: /ɪ, ə/

Example: FMA4: she still has [hɜ] garden, still has [hɜ] vege garden, still has [hɜ] flower garden

Māori

Number of tokens 41
Full forms 39 (95.0%)

Māori/Pākehā ratio: 1.5

Pākehā

Number of tokens 45
Full forms 28 (62.0%)

THE preceding a word beginning with a vowel

The unmarked form is /i/. However, a number of speakers used either /ʌ/, an intermediate form approximating /ɛ/ or /ə/.

Examples: FMT3: the mana /ðʌ/ actual pronunciation

MMT2: even /ðə/ old kids didn't know

Māori

Number of tokens 131
8 (6.0%) /ʌ/
3 (3.0%) /ɛ/
32 (24.5%) /ə/

Total marked forms 43 (33.0%)

Pākehā/Māori ratio: 2

Pākehā

Number of tokens 87
13 (15.0%) /ə/

The expected variant of the definite article preceding words beginning with vowels is the full /ði/ form which the Pākehā groups used almost 1.5 times as often as the Māori groups. Only the Māori groups used the full (ii) /ðʌ/ (and the intermediate) forms in this environment.

THE preceding a word beginning with a consonant

Full forms: /i, ʌ/

Reduced forms: /ɪ, ə/

Examples: MMA3: to whomever in /ði/ whanau

MMT6: and we played /ðʌ/ countryside

Māori

Number of tokens 649
Full forms 17 (2.5%) /i/
45 (7.0%) /ʌ/
Total Full forms 62 (10.0%)

Māori/Pākehā ratio: 4

Pākehā

Number of tokens 560
Full forms 13 (2.3%) /i/
1 (0.2%) /ʌ/
14 (2.5%)

There was very little difference between the two ethnic groups and their use of stressed the. The single occurrence of full vowel form (ii) /ðʌ/ in the Pākehā data was said by a MPT who used it before a hesitation and pause while he was thinking of what he was saying.

"Well, I'm in the front row, on /ðʌ/, on /ði/ah right hand side."

While the two ethnic groups' use of the full /ði/ form was the same, there was a considerable difference in their use of the full /ðʌ/ form.

OR

Full form: /ɔ/

Reduced forms: /ɪ, ə/

Example: FMA2: not that I know much about starving /ɔ/anything

Māori

Number of tokens 150

Pākehā

Number of tokens 124

Full forms 141 (94.0%)

Full forms 83 (67.0%)

Māori/Pākehā ratio: 1.5

AN/CAN/THAN

There was only a small number of tokens in the Māori and Pākehā data of the indefinite article (an), the present tense auxiliary verb (can), and of the conjunction (than). The difference between the two ethnic groups and their usages of an, can and than is statistically highly significant, particularly the words an and can but because the numbers of tokens is few the results can only be tentative.

AN

Full forms: /æ/²⁸

Reduced forms: /ɪ, ə/

Example: FMA2: but this is as /æn/ academic

Māori

Number of tokens 20

Full forms 4 (20.0%)

Māori/Pākehā ratio: 20

Pākehā

Number of tokens 32

Full forms 0 (0.0%)

CAN

Full form: /æ/

Reduced forms: /ɪ, ə/

Example: MMA2: you /kæn/ use panga

Māori

Pākehā

²⁸There was a single occurrence of an as /ʌn/ in the data of the female Māori adults.

Number of tokens 36

Full forms 10 (28%)

Māori/Pākehā ratio: 28

Number of tokens 24

Full forms 0 (0.0%)

THAN

Full form: /æ/

Reduced forms: /ɪ, ə/

Example: FMT8: the younger generation will know yeah more /ðæn, ðɪ/older generation

Māori

Number of tokens 17

Full forms 11 (65.0%)

Māori/Pākehā ratio: 4.5

Pākehā

Number of tokens 14

Full forms 2 (14.0%)

An is among the 19 grammatical words listed by Gimson as having "over 90% unaccented occurrences with a weak form". The Māori groups in this study used 80% weak forms while the Pākehā groups used 100% weak forms. The Māori groups used the full form of the vowels in an, can and than while the Pākehā used the full form in than only on two occasions.

The indefinite article preceding a word beginning with a vowel

An is the expected form of the indefinite article when it precedes a word beginning with a vowel.

Both Māori and Pākehā used this and the a form of the indefinite article in this environment. In the Māori data there was a single occurrence of the /eɪ/ and 3 occurrences of the /ʌ/ form of the indefinite article, as well as reduced. In the Pākehā data the only form the of the indefinite article an as a was reduced.

Examples: MMA5: there is /ʌ ʌ ʌ ʌ ʌ ʌkrɒs/ the board ah²⁹

MMA4: /æz ei ʌprentɪs/ carpenter

FMT4: ah it's /ə/axolotl

Māori

Number of environments 35

Number of a tokens 9 (25.5%)

Māori/Pākehā ratio: 1.5 (use of a for an)

Pākehā

Number of environments 42

Number of a tokens 7 (16.5%)

Table 9: Indefinite article preceding a word beginning with a Vowel - Māori and Pākehā

	Māori		Pākehā	
	Tokens	%	Tokens	%
Environments for Indefinite article	35		42	
Indefinite article as <u>an</u>	20	57.0%	32	76.0%
Indefinite article as <u>a</u>	9	26.0%	7	17.0%
Nil article	6	17.0%	3	7.0%

WE'VE

Full form: /i/

Reduced forms: /ɪ, ə/

Example: FPT1: /wi:v/ all grown attached to them

Māori

Number of tokens 30

Full forms 4 (13.0%)

Māori/Pākehā ratio: 6

Pākehā

Number of tokens 14

Full forms 11 (78.5%)

²⁹Repetitions, as in this example, were counted as one occurrence.

While the figures are very few, particularly for the Pākehā groups, the trend is nonetheless obvious. Pākehā preferred the full /i/ form while the Māori groups preferred the reduced form.

There was a single occurrence of an intermediate form as /e/ in the data of the Māori group.

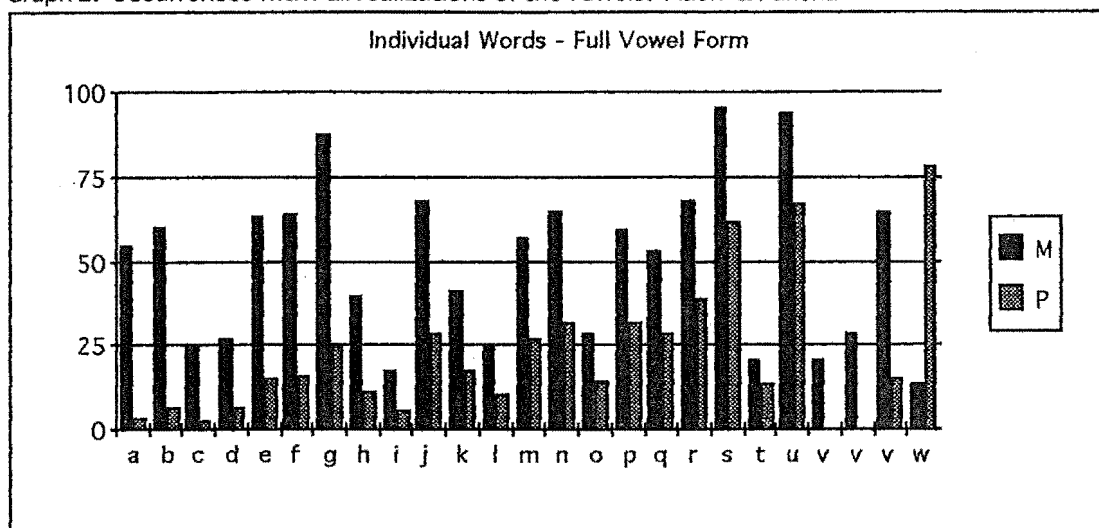
The grammatical words are listed in the chart below in descending order according to the numbers of times full vowel forms were used more often by one group than the other.

Table 10: Summary of occurrences of grammatical words using the full form - Māori/Pākehā

Words	Full realizations			Tokens - Total /Full Form			
	- %			Māori		Pākehā	
	Māori	Pākehā	Māori/Pākehā Ratio	Total	Full	Total	Full
1 are	55.0	3.0	18	62	34	34	1
2 /jə/	60.0	6.0	10	63	38	32	2
3 was	24.0	2.5	9	295	71	270	7
4 of	26.5	6.0	4.5	334	88	469	27
5 /ju/	63.0	14.5	4.5	215	135	192	34
6 for	64.0	15.5	4	178	114	147	23
7 that	87.5	24.0	3.5	151	132	149	36
8 to	39.0	11.0	3.5	659	256	537	58
9 a	17.0	5.5	3	473	81	495	28
10 at	68.0	28.0	2.5	128	87	114	32
11 as	40.5	17.0	2.5	123	50	89	15
12 them	24.0	10.0	2	104	25	120	12
13 from	57.0	26.5	2	56	32	49	13
14 and	64.5	31.5	2	785	507	796	250
15 were	28.0	14.0	2	43	12	100	14
16 but	59.0	31.0	2	314	186	281	87
17 cause	53.0	28.5	2	229	122	178	51
18 we're	68.0	38.0	2	22	15	24	9
19 her	95.0	62.0	1.5	41	39	45	28
20 the	20.5	13.5	1.5	780	158	647	88
21 or	94.0	67.0	1.5	150	141	124	83
22 an	20.0		20	20	4	31	0
23 can	28.0		28	36	10	24	0
24 than	64.5	14.5	4.5	17	11	14	2
25 we've	13.0	78.5	0.17	30	4	14	11

Grammatical Words - Overview/Graph

Graph 2: Occurrences with Full realizations of the vowels. Māori & Pākehā



Key:

a = ARE; b = YOUR/YOU'RE/YOURSELF-VES; c = WAS; d = of; e = YOU+VERB; f = for; g = THAT; h = TO; i = A; j = AT; k = AS; l = THEM; m = FROM; n = AND; o = WERE; p = BUT; q = [BE]CAUSE; r = WE'RE; s = HER; t = THE; u = OR; v = AN/CAN/THAN³⁰; y = WE'VE

Just over half of the grammatical words analysed in the Māori data occurred with full forms over 50% of the time. These words were are, was, for, /jɔ/(your, you're, yourself), /ju/(you, you've, you'll, you'd), that, and, were, but, because/cause, we're, her, or, than. In the Pākehā data only three words were used with the full form over 50% of the time, her, or, we've.

Multiple use of Full forms of Vowels in sentences

E.g. FMT [ðe wɒz ʌ liɡ təʔnəmin]

there was a league tournament

MMT [æn ðen wi wen tu ðə minɪstri]

and then we went to the Ministry

FMA [ðe ʌ pakiəz æz wəl ðæ? hæv ʌproutʃ miðəda ɡaʊniŋ]

there are Pākehās as well that have approached me that are going

MMA [ɡɪ mi main ai bin weitiŋ fɔ ðæ?]

³⁰AN/CAN/THAN have been grouped together because of the small number of tokens in each group.

give me mine, I've been waiting for that

In the Māori data 115 examples of sentences where all the grammatical words have full vowel realisation. There was only one in the Pākehā data.

Other features which arose from examining syllable-timing

Elisions & Omissions

The next section of results was not the main focus of this study and therefore has not been analysed in depth in terms of word counts. Elisions and omissions are important in terms of the differences between Māori and Pākehā English and are areas mentioned in the research into ME in the 60's as being markers of ME. The occurrences are generally very few.

Elisions: Lack of initial vowel, e.g. 'a' on about

Expected form: about; apprenticeship; occurred; allowed; eleven

Elided form: bout; prenticeship; [kəd]; 'llowed; leven³¹

Example: you know talking bout college and everything

Māori

Number of tokens 127
Full forms 39 (30.5%)

Māori/Pākehā ratio: 3

Pākehā

Number of tokens 101
Full forms 11 (11.0%)

Omissions of Grammatical Words

Omission of the Articles - Overall

Māori

Number of tokens 1369
Omissions 85 (6.0%)

Māori/Pākehā ratio: 1.5

Pākehā

Number of tokens 1222
Omissions 41 (3.5%)

³¹The Pākehā groups elided the initial vowel on about only.

Omission of the definite article - THE

Example: FMT8: pass it over to ___ other team (definite article - the)

Māori

Number of tokens 806
Omissions 26 (3.0%)

Māori/Pākehā ratio: 2

Pākehā

Number of tokens 654
Omissions 7 (1.0%)

Omission of the indefinite article preceding a word beginning with a consonant- A³²

Example: FMT9: she's always got ___ big smile

Māori

Number of tokens 527
Omissions 54 (10.0%)

Māori/Pākehā ratio: 2

Pākehā

Number of tokens 526
Omissions 31 (6.0%)

Omission of the indefinite article preceding a word beginning with a vowel - AN

Example: MMA4: when you're ___ entertainer

Māori

Number of tokens 36
Omissions 5 (14.0%)

Māori/Pākehā ratio: 2

Pākehā

Number of tokens 42
Omissions 3 (7.0%)

Omission of Prepositions

The prepositions analysed were; to, of, at, or, for.

Examples: MMA2: we had a minister ___ do all that

³²One omission not counted in the data occurred in sentences such as, 'it's pretty good game'. There was a small number of these kind of sentences in the data of the teenage males of both ethnic groups. All such sentences referred to the game of rugby.

FMA3: quite a few ___ them choosing Japanese

MMT6: sposed to go up ___ Christmas

MMA3: well, more ___ less in that age

MMA4: or whatever did that ___ you to succeed

Māori

Number of tokens 1350

Omissions 30 (2.0%)

Māori/Pākehā ratio: 4.5

Pākehā

Number of tokens 1195

Omissions 6 (0.5%)

The numbers of omissions of prepositions was very small in the data of both groups. The most commonly omitted preposition by the Māori groups was to and it was of for the Pākehā group. The Pākehā groups omitted to and of only. Only the Māori groups omitted at, or, and for.

Omission of Pronouns

Examples: MMA5: they can talk about ___ as much as they like

MPT1: yes that's just, hope to do next year

Māori

Omissions 12

Pākehā

Omissions 5

There was no count of the pronouns in the data thereby making the calculation of percentages and ratios impossible. The most frequently omitted pronoun was the third person pronoun it. There were 12 sentences in the Māori data and 5 in the Pākehā data where the pronoun was omitted. Of the 12 Māori examples 10 were the pronoun it, the rest were her, they. Four of the five Pākehā examples were it and one was the first person personal pronoun I as in the example above.

Omission of Nouns

Again there was no count of nouns in the data. This category of omissions was of rare occurrence in the Māori data and did not occur in the Pākehā data at all. It involved the omission of the noun. The four examples are supplied below and were said by adults, a female and a male. Interestingly, three of the noun omission examples are preceded by a participle. The fourth example is questionable as to whether or not it is an actual noun omission.

FMA1: I indicated to go into the parking ^, I didn't realise..

MMA1; the children make up their own sporting ^ and so forth

... um, they find their own entertaining ^ as well

well you see the Taranaki don't pronounce the aitch

Omission of Verbs

(a) Following Pronouns

An omission was counted as such if the verb (in its contracted or full form) was missing when following a pronoun in its full form, ie the /ju/ variant of you, the /ðei/ variant of they, the /wi/ variant of we, or the /ai/ variant of the first person personal pronoun I, or if any of the pronoun variants, including reduced, occurred without a linking consonant, ie, 'r', 'v', 'd', etc when, preceding a word beginning with a vowel.

Omission of BE (Are; Was; Were)

	Māori		Pākehā		
	Tokens	Omissions	Tokens	Omissions	Māori/Pākehā ratio
YOU	33	10 (30.0%)	32	0 (0.0%)	30
THEY	53	19 (36.0%)	61	8 (13.0%)	3
WE	27	5 (18.5%)	23	1 (4.0%)	4.5
	113	34 (30.0%)	116	9 (8.0%)	

Māori/Pākehā ratio: 4

YOU

(a) YOU + BE verb (contracted or in full) preceding a word beginning with a vowel

<u>Māori</u>		<u>Pākehā</u>	
Number of tokens	13	Number of tokens	5
Omissions	12 (92.0%)	Omissions	0

Māori/Pākehā ratio: There were too few tokens to make calculating the ratio worthwhile. However, the trend would appear to be obvious and is consistent with other results in that Māori use more of the unexpected forms.

The you variants in the Māori data in this environment were:

Examples:	/ju/ (1 token)	FMT7: [ju ɪlaʊðə] go in (you're allowed to ...)
	/jɪ/ (3 tokens)	MMT4: [jɪ] in the forwards
	/jɔ/ (7 tokens)	MMA2: [jɔ] other hand
	/jɔ̃/ (1 token)	FMA5: [jɔ̃] other um

Omissions of the verb in this environment occurred in the Māori data only.

(b) YOU + BE verb (contracted or in full) preceding a word beginning with a consonant

Omissions after the /ju/ variant were the only ones being counted in this environment and there were 6 examples in the Māori data only.

THEY

(a) THEY + BE verb (contracted or in full) preceding a word beginning with a vowel

<u>Māori</u>		<u>Pākehā</u>	
Number of tokens	14	Number of tokens	13
Omissions	11 (78.5%)	Omissions	4 (31.0%)

Māori/Pākehā ratio: There were too few tokens to make calculating the ratio worthwhile. As above, the trend is nonetheless obvious.

The they variants in the Māori data in this environment were:

Examples:	/ðei/ (7 tokens)	FMA4: [ðei] all up in Rotorua
	/ða/ (1 token)	FMT2: [ða] in England
	/ðʌ/ (1 token)	MMT2: [ðʌ] interviewing him
	/ðɪ/ (2 tokens)	MMT2: [ðɪ] alright

In the Pākehā data the /ðe/ variant was the only one which occurred in this environment on 4 occasions.

(b) THEY + BE verb (contracted or in full) preceding a word beginning with a consonant

The omissions of both ethnic groups occurred after the /ðei/ variant.

<u>Māori</u>		<u>Pākehā</u>	
Number of tokens	39	Number of tokens	53
Omissions	8 (20.5%)	Omissions	4 (7.5%)
Māori/Pākehā ratio: 2.5			

WE

(a) WE + BE verb (contracted or in full) preceding a word beginning with a vowel

<u>Māori</u>		<u>Pākehā</u>	
Number of tokens	5	Number of tokens	5
Omissions	3	Omissions	1

Māori/Pākehā ratio: There were too few tokens to make calculating the percentages and ratio worthwhile. As with the other results above, the trend would appear to be obvious.

Examples: FMT7: [wi ɪloude] to go in there (we're allowed to ...)

FPT5: [wə] all freaking out

All omissions in the Māori data were after the /wi/ form and the single omission in the Pākehā data was after the reduced form.

(b) WE + BE verb (contracted or in full) preceding a word beginning with a consonant

The /wi/ variant was the only one being counted in this environment and there were 2 occurrences of this variant in the Māori data only.

Omission of HAVE (Have; Had)

	Māori		Pākehā	
	Tokens	Omissions	Tokens	Omissions
YOU	16	10	20	0
THEY	28	11	19	3
WE	35	5	19	5
I	91	17	32	0
Total	170	42 (24.5%)	90	8 (9.0%)

Māori/Pākehā ratio: 2.5

Examples: FMT9: and [ju] just gotta play it

MMT5: oh [ðei] got their licence

MMA5: [wi] got no reason

FMA 4: [ai] got the grandchildren

Of the total possible environments in the Māori data for the occurrence of a verb following a pronoun 15 preceded words beginning with vowels but there was only a single omission of the HAVE verb in this environment following the pronoun they;

MMT5: oh /ðei/ already done their school cert Māori.

In the Pākehā data there were 8 possible environments and there were no omissions.

Omissions of Verbs following certain Pronouns

Table 11: Summary of omissions of verbs following certain Pronouns - Māori and Pākehā

Verb	Māori		Pākehā	
	Total	Omissions	Total	Omissions
BE	113	34	116	9
HAVE	53	24	40	13
	166	58 (35.0%)	156	22 (14.0%)
Māori/Pākehā ratio: 2.5				

Omission of verbs

(b) In environments other than following the pronouns examined above

There was no count of verbs in the data thereby making the calculation of percentages and ratios impossible.

Omission of BE (is, are, was)

	Māori	Pākehā
IS	3	1
ARE	7	1
WAS	2	1
Total:	12	3

Examples: MMA2: this ___ why I'm saying
 FMT8: how ___ you walking home?
 MMA1: all they could say ___ /waɪ o te ʔoʔipeɪ/ (Ward of the hospital)

Omission of HAVE (is, are, was)

	Māori	Pākehā
HAS	6	0
HAVE	2	0
Total:	8	0

Examples: MMT1: and some of them ___ gone to join this year

FMT8: she ___ got no tangi

Table 12: Summary of Verbs omitted in other environments - Māori & Pākehā

Verb	Māori	Pākehā
is	3	1
are	7	1
was	2	1
has	6	0
have	2	0
Total:	20	3

c. Non-standard - 'Tense'

Included in the non-standard verb forms analysed by McCallum (1978) were the following categories with examples supplied from the current data with numbers of tokens given in brackets:

'-ed' omitted in various environments: (16 tokens in the Māori and 2 in the Pākehā data)

Examples: FMA3: it was turn_ed into a mainstream

FPT1: I found they were abandon_ed

-Non-standard forms of irregular verbs: (11 tokens in the Māori and 4 in the Pākehā data³³)

MMT2: and he teach me everything

FPT5: so she always come over to our house

-Omission of -ing: (1 token in the Māori data)

MMA5: I'm not mean singing

³³The Pakeha tokens all involved the use of come for came. This was the most frequently used non-standard form in the data with 6 tokens in the Maori data and these four in the Pakeha data.

Table 13: Summary of Non-standard Tense - Māori & Pākehā

	Māori	Pākehā
-ed omitted in various environments	16	2
Irregular forms of irregular verbs	11	4
omission of -ing	1	
	<u>28</u>	<u>6</u>

d. Other Non-standard Verb usages

There were occurrences of a lack of concord of tense and agreement between the subject and verb.

Agreement of subject and verb

-Plural subject and singular verb: (1 token in the Māori data)

MMT7: so they knows what some of its about

-Singular subject and plural verb: (4 in the Māori and 1 in the Pākehā data)

MMT3: this teacher come in, show me some stuff³⁴

MPT1: so he probably know

Is used unnecessarily

There was one occurrence of is used unnecessarily. It occurred in the data of the female Māori adults:

FMA2: and yet we got strapped at school is for skipping in a line

Omissions of Verbs in environments other than following certain pronouns

The most significant difference between the ethnic groups was in the verb category, particularly in environments other than following certain pronouns. The figures below have been calculated using the word counts of the two ethnic groups minus all the grammatical words analysed.

³⁴This sentence is an example either of an elision of the preposition to in which the sentence would be, 'this teacher come[s] in, to show me some stuff' or an elision of the marker of the 3rd person present indicative used in the narrative '-s' and the sentence would be 'this teacher come[s] in, shows me some stuff'. The comma represents a slight pause which was in the actual sentence.

<u>Māori</u>		<u>Pākehā</u>	
Number of tokens	24603	Number of tokens	21647
Omissions	54 (0.22%)	Omissions	13 (0.06%)
Māori/Pākehā ratio: 3.5			

Linking 'r'

In the Māori data there were 326 environments where linking 'r' could potentially occur, but there were only 102 actual occurrences. In the Pākehā data there were 353 environments where linking 'r' could potentially occur and there were 290 actual occurrences of linking 'r'. Therefore the Māori data lacked 224 linking 'r' (59.5%) while in Pākehā data there only 63 environments which lacked linking 'r' (18.0%).

Māori/Pākehā ratio: 3.3

Use of Māori Lexis in the corpus

Using Māori words more frequently and pronouncing them with Māori pronunciation is also a feature of ME. Pākehā used Māori words with varying degrees of success in terms of Māori pronunciation, though usually the pronunciation used was Pākehā Māori. In the Māori data there were 336 Māori words which represented 1.2% of the Māori data. In the Pākehā data there were 38 Māori words which represented 0.2% of the Pākehā data. The difference between the groups and their use of Māori words was that Māori lexis was used 6 times as often by Māori groups. The greater differences, however, were in the variety of words used, the groups Māori using a wider variety of Māori lexis than the Pākehā groups, and the Māori groups more successful use of Māori accented Māori.

Unaspirated Word Initial Interdental Voiced Fricative /ð/

This occurred only in the Māori data.

The words listened to were; the, that, that's, there, there's, their, they're, theirs, then, them, than, they, they'll, they'd, these, this, those.

There were 2207 occurrences of these words in the Māori data 256 occurred with an unaspirated interdental voiced fricative sounding closer to /d/ than /ð/ and represented a Percentage of 11.6%.

Summary of Results

Māori used more full forms on grammatical words than Pākehā. The words an and can were used with the full form by the Māori groups only. There were differences between the groups in the pronunciation preferences of the words of and cause. Of the words analysed, the only word used with a full form more often by Pākehā than Māori was we've. The analysis of the words in vowel groups showed that the words in the vowel groups /æ, ɜ, ɒ/ were most favoured by both groups for use with full forms. The Māori groups had many examples of use of multiple full forms of vowels in several words in sentences where the Pākehā groups had only one. The Māori groups used more of the marked forms of the articles, i.e. /ðʌ/ and /ʌ/, than the Pākehā groups. Only the Māori groups elided the verb after using the full pronunciations of certain pronouns, ie; I /aɪ/, you /ju/, and we in we're /wi/. Of the other verb irregularities only Māori omitted the auxiliary past tense have and has, the possessive marker has, the -ing to indicate present tense and a small number of nouns. Pākehā used more liaison in environments where words ending in vowels preceded by words which began with vowels. Only the Māori groups used an unaspirated interdental voiced fricative. Though both groups used a selection of Māori words, the Māori groups used a wider variety and a greater quantity and used Māori Māori more often while articulating those words than Pākehā.

5. ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION OF RESULTS

5.1 Māori /Pākehā Comparison

The results given here for Māori usage could be conservative because of the more formal interview in which they were obtained. One Māori speaker had noticeable differences when recorded in two different situations. When he was recorded tutoring his class of mainly Māori students he used full realised grammatical terms 1.5 times more than he did in the one-to-one interview situation. This difference reflected an accommodation either to the interview situation, and possibly to the interviewer who was a Pākehā female, or to the class situation. While the teenage speakers from one school were also interviewed in two situations, time constraints did not allow for a comparison of their speech styles. The two oldest Pākehā speakers³⁵, a male and a female, used a more formal style during their interviews and recordings of their relaxed styles were not obtained.

Syllable-Timing

The findings of this project are consistent with the findings of similar projects carried out over the last 30 years and particularly in the last 5 years. The Māori groups used the full forms of vowels in grammatical words in unstressed positions 2.5 times as often as Pākehā. Research into syllable timing in NZE (Ainsworth 1993) has found that NZE is more syllable-timed than other Englishes. NZE uses more full vowels where in other varieties reduced would be favoured and this leads to a more syllable-timed sounding variety with an idiosyncratic rhythm in NZE unlike that of RP (Bauer 1994:391). Benton states,

[There is] replacement of the indefinite vowel which is used in unstressed syllables in normal English speech. This vowel is the sound in an, was, us, the (before consonants), at, then, etc in unstressed positions. This sound is often replaced by a full vowel in the speech of Māori children. ... The tendency to give undue emphasis to vowels ... gives a distinctive Māori accent to the speech of many children. (1966:70-71)

³⁵Both speakers are well known to me.

Bauer states that "ME is most easily recognised ... by the rhythm [which] is more syllable-timed than that of other varieties of NZE, with more full vowels in unstressed syllables" (1994:414). The results of Ainsworth's (1993) comparison of the production of grammatical words by 5 male newsreaders using different styles of English found that the Māori newsreader used 58.1% full forms while the other (presumably Pākehā) readers used considerably less, the next highest Percentage being 26.3%. Robertson analysed 20 tokens of grammatical words in Reading style and 60 in Conservation style and concluded that, "Full vowel use in unstressed syllables (which is the easiest measure of syllable-timing) shows some link with identification as Māori" (1994:186). Holmes (1995) using excerpts from the WCSNZE³⁶ and also analysing the production of grammatical words in terms of the use of full or otherwise vowels found that Māori speakers used 31.6% full vowels compared to Pakeha's 18.6%. Holmes states, "It seems possible that syllable-timing is yet another feature which the Māori language has "bequeathed" to the English of Māori native speakers of English. The distinctive rhythm which characterises ME ... may well derive from the influence of the mora-timed rhythm of the Māori language." (Holmes, 1995: 93). As Māori is a mora-timed language (W. Bauer 1981) it is not surprising that the speakers of English whose first language was Māori or who learned Māori and English concomitantly used more full forms in grammatical words in unstressed positions than monolingual English speakers. That the younger Māori speakers used more full forms than either Pākehā group is evidence, based on previous research, that these young people are mother tongue speakers of ME. Richards was one of the early writers of ME to note not only that ME is a variety of English in its own right but also that, "since it has been in use for generations [it] has mother tongue speakers." (1970:126)

Six of the /æ, ɒ, ɜ/ words, and, as, an, for, or and her, are among 19 grammatical words listed by Gimson (1989:266) as having "over 90% unaccented occurrences with a weak form". In this research Her was used with 95.1% full forms by the Māori groups and 62.3% by the Pākehā groups. Or was used with the full form of the vowel 94% by the Māori groups and 66.9% by the

³⁶The 'WCSNZE' is the Wellington Corpus of Spoken New Zealand English and "consists of one million words of spoken NZE made up as far as possible of speech excerpts of 2000 -2500 words (approximately 15-20 minutes) [which] were selected to fill a pre-determined sample design which include[d] various speech styles." (Holmes, 1995:9).

Pākehā groups. These results, especially those of the Māori groups, are almost completely the opposite of what is the norm for RP. When did this increase in the use of full forms begin in New Zealand English? Is it a result of the influence of the Māori language through the speakers of ME? It is beyond the scope of this project to try and answer the first of these questions but I suggest that a comparison of the English speech of people born in the last quarter of last century examining grammatical words and the amounts of full realizations of the vowels used in these words might possibly support the suggestion that this change has been occurring in PE for about the last 20-30 years. The recordings from the Mobile Disc Recording Unit (NZBC) (henceforth 'Mobile unit' tapes) stored at Canterbury University would be a possible source of material for such a study as the people who were interviewed at that time were born during the last quarter of last century. The first language of the vast majority of Māori at that time was te reo Māori.³⁷ I anticipate that the speech of the Māori interviewees³⁸ on the 'Mobile Unit' tapes would be more syllable timed than the speech of the adult Māori in this project and that the speech of the Pākehā on those tapes would be less syllable timed than the speech of the older Pākehā in this project, though perhaps only marginally. The speech of the adult Pākehā participants being examined in this project was less syllable-timed, though the difference was very small, than the speech of the younger Pākehā participants who used full forms 1.1 times as often as their Pākehā elders.

There were differences between the two ethnic groups and their speech in this study which have not been commented on before. Not only did more full vowel forms³⁹ occur in the speech of the

³⁷Benton's (1976) study of who used the Maori language found that the use of te reo Maori was on the decline at that time among the Maori people, particularly among the younger generations but that the elders still used te reo Maori a great deal, some still not being able to speak English.

³⁸The difficulty might be that the Maori people interviewed used their PE accent. Elizabeth Gordon (1996) tells of the eight young men and women who came to the city in 1958 to look for work as having very little Maori accented English. This could be explained in terms of the adjustments people make to cope with the very monocultural cities of New Zealand and therefore being as Pakeha sounding as possible might result in the suppressing of a ME accent to escape some of the obvious prejudices in the hopes of getting work. In addition, the formality of the interview situation at that time might have prompted interviewees to use their PE to suit, i.e.; the 'Observer's paradox'. At that time the Maori people would have been well aware of the disadvantages of speaking English with a Maori accent, after all they were experiencing the effects of speaking Maori at school at that time.

³⁹In some instances content words were stressed in a way which did occur in the Pakeha data. Two examples are "but through us /mɪksɪŋ/ in the main stream ..." (the double ɪ indicates a long vowel, as in the writing convention for indicating such in Maori) "it didn't really stop me /frɒm

Māori participants in this project but there were also a number of sentences⁴⁰ which contained two or more full vowel forms in close proximity. An example from each Māori group is presented below:

MMT2 [ɒ nau dis wɒz zɪs ʌ du ʌ du, θɪŋ]

"oh no this was just a do a do, thing"

FMT3 [ðæ? ʌm, ðæ? mairi wiw hɛw ɒem, tu du wɛw]

"that um, that Māori will help them, to do well"

FMA2 [bʌ? tu kʌm bæk intʊ ðɪ mʌʊri ai æv tu goʊ bæk intʊ ðɪ rɪlɪdʒɪn sou
ai æd tu meɪk ʃʊe ðæd ai wɒz sɒdɪ, seɪfɡædɪ]

"but to come back into the Māori I have to go back into the religion so I had to make sure
that I was sort of, safeguarded"

MMA2 [wɛl ju sɾau dæ? wʌn fɒɡɒ tu kætʃ ɪ?]⁴¹

"well you throw that one forgot to catch it"

The Māori groups used full forms considerably more often than Pākehā and this use of full forms by the Māori groups contributes to the distinctive intonation of ME.

Related to the above, but indirectly, is the difference between the groups and the pronunciation patterns of certain words, specifically the preposition of, the conjunction cause [abbreviation of because] and the pronouns they and I both followed by a verb or its contracted form, e.g., they're, I'd, etc. The range of pronunciations of the full and intermediate forms is as follows with ethnic preferences underneath each;

- the vowel in of as /ɒ, ɔ, ʌ/:

(a) preposition only

Māori: /ɒ, ɔ, ʌ/

ʌtʃɪvɪŋ bɪkɒz/..." The first example was spoken by Female Maori Teenager, the second being spoken by a Female Maori Adult.

⁴⁰I was able to find 39 such sentences in the Maori data without too much effort. These 39 sentences might not be all.

⁴¹Benton commented on the /t/ phoneme saying that "in the speech of some children [the /t/ phoneme] approximated what would be regarded by English speaking observers as /s/" (1966:67). In the example above it is the /ð/ phoneme which is replaced by /s/ and is the only example of this in the data.

Pākehā: /ɒ, ʌ/

(b) 'sort of' etc

Māori: /ɒ, ɔ, ʌ/

Pākehā: /ʌ, ɒ, ɔ/

- the vowel in cause [abbreviation of because] as /u, ɒ, ɔ, ʌ/:

Māori: /u, ɒ, ɔ/

Pākehā: /ɒ, u, ʌ, ɔ/

- the diphthong in they... as /ei, a, ʌ, e/:

Māori: /ei, a, ʌ and e/

Pākehā: /ei, a, ʌ and reduced, e/⁴²

This has not been commented on at all in any of the literature to date and there is very little to be said about these pronunciation pattern preferences of both groups other than it is yet another difference between the groups and their linguistic behaviour.

The use of articles and linking 'r' plus the use of grammatical words with greater stress collectively contribute to the syllable-timed rhythm of ME.

Elisions and Omissions

This is an area of research which has received little attention since the 60's. While it was not unheard of in PE 30 years ago it would seem, by the comments of researchers at that time, to have been unusual in PE but fairly common in ME.

Elision of the vowel at the beginning of words

The Māori groups elided the initial vowels of several words 3 times as often as the Pākehā groups.

This feature has been commented on by Benton only who states under the heading, '*Errors generally regarded as common*' "the omission of the initial vowel, e.g. lectric = electric. ... The

⁴²The reduced form is included for this pronoun because it was used equally as often as /ʌ/.

errors listed ... derived mainly from material collected by teachers who had long experience in teaching Māori children, from my own notes, and from a summary of speech and structural *errors* issued ... by the Department of Education in 1962 ... [all italics mine]" (1966:21). In the current data, about was the word on which the elision occurred most frequently in the Māori data and was the only word in the Pākehā data. Other examples in the Māori data were; prenticeship = apprenticeship, [kɜd] = occurred, leven = eleven. As Benton did not mention this linguistic behaviour in relation to Pākehā children this suggests that it was a common practice among the Māori children only. It appears to be gaining ground in PE at this time which could possible be attributable to the influence ME.

Omission of Articles

The Māori groups omitted articles twice as often as the Pākehā groups.

Benton (1966) and Anderson & Aitken (1968) both comment on the 'omission' of the article. Benton quotes examples such as, 'I live down Te Karaka'. (1966:45) Anderson & Aitken state that "the omission of the article is one of the most common of all *errors* [italics mine] made by these children, we find a multiplicity of examples of the type

Peanut got bitten by police dog." (1968:57)

Omissions of the articles occurred in the data of both groups in this study, more so by the Māori groups than the Pākehā. Consistent with the findings of Anderson & Aitken, "the article omitted is the "a" form; and this appears to account for the greater Percentage of the omitted articles, which were recorded" (1968: 57). The majority of omissions, proportionately, of the articles in the current study were the indefinite article, particularly when preceding words beginning with vowels.

The Māori examples:

FMA2; then sort of started to take interest and beginning to take a um

FMA3: what are you English teacher or Māori teacher?

MMA2: we went to um ordinary school

MMA4: "when you're entertainer"

FMT9: cause it's ah official language of New Zealand [a ʌfəʃɪw]

The Pākehā examples:

MPT3: so it wasn't that much of incentive

MPA4: and suicides it's just it's it's alarming rate to what it used to be

Where Pākehā might have added the indefinite article an before the words incentive and alarming or deleted the words of and rate the Māori examples had only one course of action and that was to insert an. The majority of the examples of omissions of the indefinite article preceding words beginning with consonants in the data of both groups was in phrases such as, a bit, a lot, a few, a couple. In the Māori data these phrases accounted for 64.8% and in the Pākehā data 80.6%. Therefore, there was more variation in the environments where omissions occurred in the Māori data. There were fewer omissions of the definite article in the data of both groups (Māori 26 = 3.2%, Pākehā 9 = 1.1%) and the environments were similar,

Māori: "but older generation"; Pākehā: "it was last month of summer".

Omission of Prepositions

The Māori groups omitted prepositions 4.5 times as often as the Pākehā groups.

Both Benton (1966) and Anderson & Aitken (1968) comment on the 'omission' of prepositions though the latter found it to be unusual, citing only the omission of to, and put the occurrences down to the influence of Pākehā phrases such as, "down town" (1968:68). Benton supplied examples such as, 'he chase the pigs up the pig sty' and 'I live down Te Karaka', (1966:45). The omissions of prepositions in the current data were very few, though occurred more often in the data of the Māori groups. Māori: "we try to say them"; Pākehā: "it's better get sixth form"

Omission of Pronouns

No count of this category was done but the Māori groups appeared to omit more pronouns than Pākehā. The examples from this data would possibly come under Benton's heading Elliptical Style of Speech where examples such as "Finish having a wash / put on my clothes" and "who's been sitting on my chair / broken" appeared. (1966:51)

Examples from this data: FMT5: I wouldn't give a damn if was my ...

MPT1: Yes that's just, hope to do next year.

Omission of Nouns

The missing nouns which occurred in the Māori data only, and then only in the data of the adults, also has an explanation in terms of te reo Māori which allows the use of verbs to act as nouns without any alteration to the word. Haere means 'to go, move, come, depart, travel' and te haere means 'the progress' ('the going'). (Foster, 1987:128) The sentence 'Tino tere tā rāua haere.' which means 'Their progress [or, 'their going'] was very quick.' illustrates this practice and at the same time serves as an explanation for sentences such as, 'They make up their own entertaining.' It is clear that the speaker was thinking in the two languages. Whakangahau means 'to entertain' while te whakangahau means 'the entertainment' [ie 'the entertaining']. The speaker failed to make the appropriate change to the English word, ie the addition of the suffix -ment to the base word entertain.

Anderson & Aitken refer to an 'incorrect' formation of nouns and cite the following examples, "Please I've got a Japanese (referring to a book about 5 Chinese brothers); And we saw an English (referring to a logging boat)." (1968:37) Other examples in the Māori data are of the same type as these where the adjective has been used as the noun or the noun has been omitted. There a number of verbs in Māori called 'Neuter' or 'Stative Verbs' which can act as adjectives without any change in the form of the word and vice versa, i.e. adjectives which can be used as verbs. Also, some words can act as nouns or verbs also without any change in the form of the word, e.g. tākaro means 'sport' and 'to play sport' and these words can also be used in as adjectives, again without any change in the form of the word, so 'sporting activities' can be expressed as mahi tākaro. It would appear that the examples above, and those from the current data, have their basis in this type of process.

Omission of Verbs

Following Pronouns

Verb deletion is closely linked in ME with the use of pronouns though it occurs in other environments as well. This feature of ME was commented on by Benton (1966) and more recently by McCallum (1976), e.g.; "I said they in bed". (Benton, 1966:46), "and they putting them on the roof" (McCallum, 1976:139). Anderson & Aitken saw this as a difficulty the Māori children were having with pronouns, particularly the second person possessive pronoun your. The pronouns of interest in this study are I, you, they, and we (specifically we're and we've). Of particular interest here are pronouns which were given a full form pronunciation, Eg; I as /ai/, i.e. as in their isolate forms. While both groups omitted the verb after the pronouns I, you, they and we, only the Māori groups used the isolate forms of the pronouns without a verb following I, you and we (only we're or we are). The Pākehā groups, who preferred the full /wi/ form of we've generally, also used more, proportionately, of this form without the verb have or its contracted form. Both groups used the /ðei/ form for they're (or they are) and they've (or they have). However, of the 5 Pākehā examples using /ðei/ for they're, two appear to be possible changes mid-way through and one a mistake;

MPT1: /ðei/ just [pause] a club

FPT9: I like them when /ðei/[pause] like [pause] kittens

MPT3: /ðei/ (instead of there's or there are) usually one or two over a wide area.

The other two occurrences in the Pākehā data, e.g., "/ðei/ just showing off", were said by a male teenager (MPT4) who has grown up hearing ME, as were the 3 Pākehā examples of /ðei/ for they've. The Māori occurrences were all similar to the following examples, '/ðei/ o.k. when we're around', '/ðei/ ahead of us' and '/ðei/ already done their school cert maori' (the first example was said by MMT2, and the following two were said by MMT5).

The /ju/ variant was also used for the second person possessive pronoun your in the Māori data. A male teenager said, 'suppose it's /ju/ own opinion'. The /ju/ pronunciation of you're would seem to be an optional pronunciation also for your though it occurred only once in this data. It is, however, a variant commented on by Anderson & Aitken (1968). Though they were looking at this variant from a deficit point of view they found that, "the form 'your' ... occur[red] several times as:

Please, this is you twisting shoes.

You other brothers get sick and have a tangi." (Anderson & Aitken, 1968:47)

It is interesting and possibly significant that the adult females of both groups used a different contracted ending for will. Pākehā used the consonant /l/ while the Māori used the vocalised /l/ or nothing. It is a long time since /l/ has been part of te reo Māori though it is retained in some place names in the South Island, for example (Little) Akaloa in Canterbury or Waiholā or the Kilmog in Otago. These place names are in the 'Southern' dialect of Māori. The 'Northern' dialects would use (Little) Whangaroa, Waiora and Kirimoko, the /l/ being replaced by /r/. As /l/ is now foreign to te reo Māori this might explain its vocalisation in this particular environment⁴³ in Māori English by the Māori speakers. It is likely that Pākehā adults use more of the consonant /l/ in this and other environments than Pākehā teenagers. Bartlett (1987) concluded that "New Zealand English speakers⁴⁴ of the 14-15 age group, male and female, have a marked tendency to vocalise word-final and pre-consonantal /l/" and he found no noticeable difference between the sexes and their overall use of vocalisation. This was a feature analysed⁴⁵ in the speech of some speakers on the 'Mobile Unit' tapes and the evidence suggested that this was not a feature of NZE at that time as there were only a very few examples reported. These speakers were interviewed in the 1940's and all were between 40-60 years of age. All were Pākehā. An analysis of the vocalisation or otherwise of /l/ by different age groups of Māori and Pākehā, male and female, would be an interesting area of study.

The choice of the 'isolate' form of the pronouns by the Māori and Pākehā groups has an explanation in terms of te reo Māori. In the subject position in these sentences the pronouns⁴⁶ (i.e. those examined) in te reo Māori are constant, that is, they do not change in any way to accommodate any other part of speech as in English where it is possible to contract a verb and

⁴³This was not a feature under examination in this study and was only noticed (by the writer) in relation to you'll.

⁴⁴There is no reference in Bartlett's essay to ethnic differences or the ethnicity of the respondents in his study.

⁴⁵This was part of a Sociolinguistics Honours class exercise at Canterbury University in 1992. The six Honours students each analysed the speech of 2 speakers listening for a variety of features including the vocalisation or otherwise of /l/.

⁴⁶With the exception of the second person possessive pronoun your which in Maori could be one of six possibilities depending on the possession or possessions concerned, tō, ō, tāu, āu, tōu, ōu.

attach it to a pronoun. Though the pronoun, in English, continues to be spelt the same way in the written language, in the spoken language there are variations of pronunciations for these pronouns, full, intermediate or reduced which do not occur in Te Reo Māori. To pick you as an example in the sentence "/ju/ allowed to go in there" the you is a literal translation of whichever you would have been used in Māori, koe, kōrua or koutou. The tense of verbs in te reo Māori is expressed by a range of verb particles, for example to express the present continuous tense the particles are Kai (or Kei) te + verb or E + verb + ana. Therefore, the first part of the sentence above could be "Kai te tukua koe/kōrua/koutou ... " which translates back to, 'you allowed' (almost 'you allowing') the present tense are has to be included in the English translation as there is no word for is, am, are, was, etc. in te reo Māori.

The suggestion that ME is a way speaking used for 'political' reasons falls somewhat short as an explanation for this variety of NZE. It is unlikely that Māori, in an attempt to sound different to Pākehā, would choose to delete the be verb as it would require a two-step operation; one - think of the two words, e.g., you are: two - delete are. Rather, and more probable, the pronoun from Māori has simply been carried over to English. Also, because the be verb does not exist in te reo Māori it is often omitted in ME, therefore the explanation is two-fold. The practice of using these pronouns in their isolate forms in ME, and now also in PE, would appear to have been "bequeathed" by the Māori language.

Omission of verbs in environments other than following certain pronouns

The use of non-standard verb forms by Māori and Pākehā has been discussed by Benton (1966), Anderson and Aitken (1968), Scott (1970), McCallum (1978) and Jacob (1990). The results of the analysis of this area in this project coincide with the results of all but Scott's. Scott re-analysed Barham's (1965) comparison of the English vocabulary and sentence structures of the speech of 6 & 8 year old Māori and Pākehā children. However, despite Scott's statements that "There was no evidence of peculiarly Māori grammatical errors" (1970: iv) he still found that "The Pākehā samples seemed to be superior to both Māori samples at both ages surveyed in their ability to use subordinate clauses and verbal structures like gerunds, participles and infinitives". (1970:129)

There is no clarification of the latter statement so it is difficult to be clear about the ways in which the Pākehā samples were 'superior' though the areas of difference, particularly the participles and infinitives, might well coincide with the results of the other projects mentioned above.

Benton (1966) listed several non-standard usages such as:

No verb where one required: e.g., The mother cat ^ too big.

Nil inflections: e.g., This morning when I come (came) to school.

Auxiliary Omitted: e.g., All her friends ^ going up to her place.

Anderson & Aitken (1968) found that the children "had considerable difficulty with the formation of the tenses ... the present tense [was] by far the most common tense in the speech of these children." (p26)

McCallum (1975)⁴⁷ found "clearly significant differences ... between the number of non-standard forms used by both groups of Māori children and those of both groups of Pākehā children ..." (1975:137) Of the seventeen specifics identified and listed by McCallum ten were found to be present in the current data also. They were:

- ed omitted in 3 specific environments (3)
- Irregular forms of Irregular verbs
- Concord of Tense
- Plural subject and singular verb and vice versa (2)
- Omission of to be; -ing (2)
- Unnecessary use of is⁴⁸

⁴⁷The results of the current study are similar to those of McCallum's in that the "similarities [between the ethnic groups and their production of non-standard verb forms] vastly outweigh the differences" but it is the difference between the groups that is significant. In the data of the Maori groups either the verb was missing or used in a non-standard form 4.5 times as often as in the data of the Pakeha groups.

⁴⁸McCallum's category was 'Unnecessary use of have as auxiliary'.

Jacobs (1990) also identified the verb phrase as an area of significance in terms of ME. She examined the following syntactic features and found that they occurred with a significantly higher frequency in the corpus of the Māori women. "The use of the past participle for past tense, the over-extension of the -s present tense ending, and the suppression of auxiliary have with have got." (1990:68) Other features which occurred in the Māori data only were, "The suppression of the auxiliary have in all other relevant environments, the omission of be with be going to, and the use of double negatives." (1990:68)

As with the omission of verbs following certain pronouns these omissions in other environments and non-standard usages in ME can also be explained in terms of te reo Māori. The be verb does not exist in Māori and tense aspects are expressed with verbal particles. The modals have, has, and would would be expressed with the particles Kua and Ka; the possessive marker has can be expressed by the use of the location particles I, Kai, Hai or the indefinite article He. As for the confusion of concord of subjects and verbs, especially where the verb requires -s for the purposes of agreement, again in te reo Māori the verb, like the subject, does not change in any way rendering agreement of subject and verb unnecessary.

Linking 'r' and the articles between words which end and the following words which begin with vowels

It was found that in environments where one word ended and the next word began with vowels the Māori groups used fewer devices such as⁴⁹ linking 'r', the definite article as /ði/, and the indefinite article as an, which in PE make for a smoother transition. The nature of Polynesian languages is that all words end in vowels and a great many also begin with vowels. Quite long utterances can be formulated in te reo Māori which contain no consonants at all, e.g., "I auē ai au i a ia ā ai i aua ao, accordingly I wept while he drove away those clouds" (Biggs 1961:14). That the Māori groups used fewer of these devices in the environments examined than Pākehā supports the suggestion that ME has been influenced by te Reo Māori. Linking 'r' has not been mentioned in

⁴⁹I also noticed that the /t/ on the word but when preceding a word beginning with a vowel was frequently replaced by a glottal stop. This occurred more often in the data of the Maori than that of the Pakeha, particularly the teenage groups. This is an area worthy of further research.

previous research on ME. The /ðʌ/ form of the definite article is a variant marked for ME though it is also an option for PE⁵⁰ but one which is not used very often. Benton states, "When it [ie, the indefinite vowel replaced by a full vowel] occurs in the ... it is usually replaced by a sound like the u in up. ... The is also pronounced in this way before vowels, with a distinctive break between the and the word which follows it." (1966:70) Biggs (1961: 12) describes this "slight hiatus between the vowels [as a] slight disturbance of the harmonics" when examined on a spectrogram. Anderson and Aitken (1968), while discussing the incorrect use of a for an in the speech of the children they were observing, found that, "these children ... tend to bridge the hiatus between the two vowel sounds in their own way, by using a glottal stop." (p61) The absence of these linguistic devices in this environment contributes to syllable-timing and gives a distinctive rhythm making speech sound 'jerky', a word which has been used in other research projects to describe ME.

Māori Lexis

The Māori groups used 67 Māori words 336 times, 133 of which were the word Māori and 3 were Pākehā. These two very common words represented 40.5% of the total tokens. In the Pākehā data there were 9 words which were used 38 times, 24 of these were Māori and 6 were Pākehā. These 30 words represented 78.9% of the Pākehā data. So, in fact the Pākehā groups used proportionately considerably less variation of Māori lexis than the Māori groups. Excluding these two very common words from the data of both groups the difference between the groups in a comparison of the usages reveals that the Māori groups used 23.3 times as many Māori words as the Pākehā groups. This, in turn, reveals a familiarity with the Māori language on the part of the Māori speakers the extent of which is not matched at all by the Pākehā groups. Holmes (1995) lists the projects where the use of Māori lexis has been associated with ME, i.e Benton (1966), Bauer (1994:416) and the Wellington Social Dialect Survey (1992), and goes on to say, "But it is equally true that Māori topics are more frequent in these interactions" (1995:7). It can also be said that the Māori speakers have, by far, a greater familiarity with and experience of the Māori

⁵⁰The automatic telephone teller used by the National Bank uses the full (ii) form /ðʌ/ when listing the dates of transactions. After each /ðʌ/ there is a pause followed by the date of the transaction followed again by the full form of of /ɒv/ and finally the month of the transaction is stated.

language and Māori culture resulting in the use of more Māori lexis in their conversations despite the actual topic of conversation at the time.

Unaspirated Word Initial Interdental Voiced Fricative /ð/

Benton, under the heading 'Production of Phonemic Contrasts' included "/d/ absorbs /ð/ that = dat" and notes that it was heard in "all districts visited and [presumably from Māori children of] all language backgrounds" (1966:70). It is not stated if this feature was heard in the speech of the Pākehā children as well. The investigation of these phonemic contrasts was not, however, pursued at that time due to time constraints. There was a considerable number of tokens in the Māori data in the current project of word initial /ð/, 2267 of which 256 occurred with a sound approximating /d/ rather than /ð/. This is a feature which has not been examined... since Benton's (1966) research. According to the results of the current project what I will call 'unaspirated' initial /ð/ might also be a feature of ME alongside unaspirated initial /t/ as shown in the results of Holmes' (1995) analysis of this and other variants. Māori consonants are generally less aspirated than English consonants. In the very early part of the setting down of te reo Māori in print the early recorders heard words such as piripiri and irimoko as biddybid and Kilmog⁵¹, the /b/ for /p/ and /g/ for /k/. Though the interdental voiced fricative /ð/ has never been in the Māori language nonetheless the unaspiration aspect of consonants in ME is relevant to this variant. Holmes, discussing unaspirated /t/, comments on the problems English speaking students of te reo Māori have, according to their teachers, with this feature. It is described by Biggs as being "articulated rather forward of the position for English t" (1961:9) and this description of the articulation is reiterated in the William's Dictionary (1985:354). Articulation in this way renders it somewhat less aspirated than English /t/.

Summary

The Māori groups used more full forms more often and on a wider range of grammatical words than the Pākehā groups. With the exception of one example in the Pākehā data only Māori used a number of sentences containing two or more full vowel forms in close proximity. Analysing the

⁵¹The name of a hill on the Northern approach into Dunedin.

grammatical words in vowel groups revealed pronunciations which might have been changing for some time in terms of use of full or reduced forms. There were differences in the pronunciation preferences of both groups of the words of, cause (abbreviation of because), and they. There was a wider range of words with first vowel elided in the Māori data than in the Pākehā data and Māori elided the initial vowel more frequently than Pākehā. Omissions of various parts of speech were more common in the Māori than the Pākehā data. Only the Māori group omitted the noun in a very small number of instances. It was only the Māori group who used the /ai/ variant of the first person personal pronoun I, the /ju/ variant of you're, your, you'll and you've and the /wi/ variant of we're without a verb or contracted form following. The full /i/ form of we've was preferred by the Pākehā groups. Use of the /ðʌ/ pronunciation of the definite article might be in the very early stages of increasing PE. The Māori groups used fewer linguistic devices between words which ended and began with vowels than the Pākehā groups. The absence of these devices combined with the use of full forms of grammatical words contributes to syllable-timing. The Māori groups used more Māori lexis than Pākehā but when the common words like Māori and Pākehā were removed from the calculations it showed that Māori used Māori lexis considerably more often than Pākehā. The range of words was also considerably broader in the Māori data. The Māori groups use of a broader range and greater number of Māori lexis is indicative of a familiarity with and experience of te reo Māori not shared by the Pākehā groups. Unaspirated word initial /ð/ by the Māori groups only could well be added to the list of features of ME due to te reo Māori being a less aspirated language than English.

5.2 Māori & Pākehā Age and Sex Comparisons

There were two varieties of ME used by the speakers in this project. ME1 was that spoken by the adult Māori who are fluent in English and te reo Māori. ME2 was that spoken by the Māori teenagers who are monolingual in English. This difference between ME1 and ME2 was one of degree, the older speakers using, generally, more of the 'marked' variants, e.g. more full forms of the vowels in grammatical words. The overall difference between the Pākehā groups was very slight though there were quite noticeable changes going on, nonetheless, in all areas examined. Gauging the changes in both varieties of ME or PE depended on whether the teenagers used more, for both varieties, or less, for PE only, of a variant than their elders.

The Māori groups used the full forms of grammatical words 2.5 times as often as the Pākehā groups, (44.5% vs 18.5%). Within that, the greatest difference was between the adult groups, Māori adults using the full forms 3 times as often as the Pākehā adults (51.5% vs 17.5%) while Māori teenagers used the full forms almost twice as often as the Pākehā teenagers (35.5% vs 19.5%). The fact that the Māori teenagers used more full forms than Pākehā teenagers indicates that the ethnic difference in syllable-timing is likely to continue. These results reflect the pattern predicted at the beginning of this essay, i.e. that the differences would range across a continuum with the Māori adults at one end using the most full forms, Pākehā adults at the other using the least full forms and the teenage groups between with Māori teenagers using more full forms than Pākehā teenagers.

Māori Adults	Māori Teenagers	Pākehā Teenagers	Pākehā Adults
51.5%	36.0%	19.5%	17.5%

The age comparisons within the ethnic groups showed Māori adults used the full forms 1.5 times as often as the Māori teenagers while the Pākehā teenagers used the full forms slightly more often than the Pākehā adults. The comparison between the Pākehā groups' use of the full forms shows very little difference between them. If there is an overall increase in syllable-timing in PE it is, based on these results, a very slow one. The difference in the Māori groups' use of full forms reflects

primarily the different language backgrounds of the participants somewhat obscuring age differences. Ethnicity and proficiency in te reo Māori clearly played important roles in syllable-timing and other aspects of ME analysed in this project.

Though the results of the syllable-timing aspects in PE are very similar overall on an age comparison, there are variants which were used quite differently by the different age groups, indicative of changes in progress. It is difficult to say to what extent ME1 and ME2 might be changing as a study of older and younger speakers with the same language background would be required for a comparison of this kind. Therefore, any discussion about changes in progress is confined primarily to PE. However, despite the differing language backgrounds of the Māori participants, some predictions have nonetheless been made concerning ME in general.

The pattern of the overall results is reflected in the results of the words, or, but, from, was, and, an/can/than⁵², and are. Māori adults used full forms slightly more often than Māori teenagers, (61.5% vs 52.5%). Pākehā teenagers used full forms 1.5 times as often as Pākehā adults, (33.5% vs 22.0%). These words are significant in terms of PE because the difference in use of full forms between Pākehā teenagers and Pākehā adults indicates an increase in syllable-timing. As the Māori teenagers used 1.5 times as many full forms as Pākehā teenagers (52.5% vs 33.5%) the ethnic difference in the use of full forms looks as though it will continue.

Though proficiency in te reo Māori correlated with the use of full forms in most of the words analysed, this was not the case with the words at and that. The results of the age comparisons of these words within the ethnic groups showed that they were marked for teenagers. Māori teenagers used full forms slightly more often than Māori adults, (89.0% vs 76.0%). Though the difference between the Māori age groups is not statistically significant the results are significant in that the teenagers used more full forms than their elders. Pākehā teenagers used full forms 3 times as often as their elders, (41.5% vs 14.5%). These words appear to be changing in PE, in

⁵²These words are being counted as one word though Pakeha teenagers used the full form of the vowel on than only.

terms of syllable-timing, towards full forms. The ethnic difference will continue as Māori teenagers used full forms almost twice as often as Pākehā teenagers (76.0% vs 41.5%).

Māori adults used full forms of for, the /jɔ/ group, the /ju/ group, a, we're, them, were, her, of and cause (abbreviation of because) 1.5 times as often as Māori teenagers, (47.0% vs 31.0%) and Pākehā adults used full forms of these words almost 1.5 times as often as Pākehā teenagers, (13.5% vs 10.5%). The change in NZE, and particularly PE, is towards reduced forms. The ethnic difference looks very likely to continue as Māori teenagers used full forms 3 times as often as Pākehā teenagers (31.0% vs 10.5%).

The words to, the, were and as were categorically marked for adults who used full forms 3 times as often as teenagers, (30.0% vs 10.5%). The change is towards the use of reduced forms. Māori adults used the full forms 3 times as often as Māori teenagers, (40.5% vs 13.5%) while Pākehā adults used full forms 2.5 times as often as Pākehā teenagers, (17.0% vs 7.5%) and 1.5 times as often as Māori teenagers (17.0% vs 13.5%). The ethnic difference looks likely to continue because Māori teenagers used full forms twice as often as Pākehā teenagers (17.0% vs 7.5%).

The words or and her were used with the largest Percentage of full forms of the vowel by all groups.⁵³ In terms of increasing syllable-timing in PE, as the adults used 66.5% full forms for or and 64.0% for her it would appear that the change to full form usage began some time ago⁵⁴. The teenage groups used just slightly more full forms for or than their elders, 67.0% and slightly less for her, 60.0%. This change would appear to have been led by ME as full forms for or were used by Māori adults 97.5% and by Māori teenagers 90.5%, and for her 100% by adults and 92.5% by teenagers. In the Māori data females used slightly more of the full form of the vowel on or, (95.5% vs 91.5%) while males used slightly more of the full form of the vowel on her, (100%

⁵³The Maori groups used significant proportions of full forms in the words for and the /jɔ/ group also.

⁵⁴This is presuming that there has actually been a change.

vs 93.5%). In the Pākehā data females used the full form of the vowel on both of these words slightly more often than males, (or 71.5% vs 61.5% , her 66.5% vs 55.5%).

The evidence for an increase or decrease of syllable-timing is based on the use of full or reduced forms by the teenage groups. Words which show an increase in syllable-timing by the use of full forms of the vowels in the grammatical words examined are;

ME: at, that

PE: or, but, from, was, cause, and, than, are, at, that.

Words which show a decrease in syllable-timing by the reduced forms of the vowels in the grammatical words examined are:

PE: for, the /jɔ/ group, to, the /ju/ group, the, a, were, her, we're, them, of, as.

The overall results of a comparison between the sexes within each ethnic groups revealed that the females of both groups used more full forms than their male counterparts.

Female Māori	Male Māori	Female Pākehā	Male Pākehā
47.0%	42.0%	21.5%	15.5%

The difference between the Māori groups was not statistically significant. Pākehā females used full forms on grammatical words 1.5 times as often as male Pākehā, (21.5% vs 15.5%). This can be interpreted as meaning that Māori females are slightly more conservative while Pākehā females are more innovative in respect to the use of full forms of grammatical words within their varieties of NZE. It is expected that speakers of ME will use more full forms of vowels while speakers of PE will use fewer. While the females of both groups certainly used more full forms of the vowel in grammatical words than the males they did not do so in all cases.

- Māori females used the full forms of the grammatical words on the following words 1.5 times as often as Māori Males, (54.5% vs 41.5%).
-or, for, to, were, from, was, cause (abbreviation of because), that, are, we're, them, at, as,
and an/can/than

- Male Māori used the full form of the vowel on the following words slightly more often than Māori females, (42.5% vs 41.0%).

-the /jə/ group, you & you + verb, the, but, her, and of

The difference between the Māori groups was not statistically significant.

- Female Pākehā used full forms of the vowels on the following grammatical words, or, for, to, were, from, was, cause, that, are, the /jə/ group, the /ju/ group, a, the, but, her, of, and and, 1.5 times as often as male Pākehā, (21.5% vs 15.0%).
- Male Pākehā used the full form of the vowel in the words we're, them, at, as and than 1.5 times as often as Pākehā females, (18.5% vs 14.5%).

Of particular interest in this project is the use of multiple full forms of vowels in sentences and phrases⁵⁵. Most Māori speakers had at least two examples of this with sentences containing two to several full forms of grammatical words as well as emphasis on certain syllables in content words. The following example is an excellent illustration of this;

ðɪ fɔwɪdz ...a ðɪ, spɒz tɪ, dɪfendʒo hʌp sɒv ðeɪ traɪnɪ stɒp də pɪpɪw
frɒm, ɡedɪŋ ðə bɒv ɪntu ðe hʌp, æn ðez ə, θɪŋ kɒl ɔ rɪdʒekt ən, ...⁵⁶

"the forwards... are the, supposed to defend your hoop so they are (or they're) trying to
stop the people from getting the ball into their hoop, and there's a, thing called a reject
and ..."

Age and sex were both significant factors influencing this linguistic behaviour. There were more examples in the data of the Māori adults than in that of the Māori teenage, (Māori adults 74 vs Māori teenagers 37) and similar results were found after the sex comparison, (Māori females 79 vs Māori male 37). Only one example of this could be found in the Pākehā data. An adult female

⁵⁵A numerical comparison of the use of multiple full forms of vowels in grammatical or content words in phrases and sentences was not done and the selections are more representative than exhaustive.

⁵⁶/ð/ indicates that the pronunciation of /ð/ is very close to /d/. /ð̌/ indicates a sound which is not quite as close to /d/ as /ð̌/.

Pākehā was talking about the death of her grandmother and said, '/wi wɜ, æt hɜ, saɪd/ (we were, at her, side)'. Her use of full forms and pauses was entirely consistent with the topic.

Pronunciation Preferences - of, cause, they...

All groups preferred the reduced pronunciations of of and cause [abbreviation of because]. Age and sex comparisons of the ethnic groups showed the following pronunciation preferences of the vowels in these words:

of (a) preposition only:

Age		Sex	
MT, MA, PA	/ɒ, ɔ, ʌ/	MM, FM	/ɒ, ɔ, ʌ/
PT	/ʌ, ɒ, ɔ/	FP	/ɒ, ɔ/
		MP	/ɒ, ʌ, ɔ/

(b) 'sort of' etc:

MT	/ɒ, ɔ, ʌ/	FM	equal amounts of /ɒ, ɔ, ʌ/
MA	/ɒ, ʌ, ɔ/	MM	/ɒ, ɔ/
PT & PA	/ʌ, ɒ, ɔ, /	FP	/ɒ, ʌ, ɔ/
		MP	/ʌ, ɔ/

cause [abbreviation of because]

MA	/u, ɒ, ɔ/	MF, MM	/u, ɒ, ɔ/
MT	/u, ɔ, ɒ/	FP, MP	/ɒ, u/
PT & PA	/ɒ, u, ɜ/.		

they...

(a) they're

While there was a range of pronunciations of the vowel in they're it was only the teenagers who employed it fully. The preferences of the age groups were as follows:

MT	/a, ʌ, ei/, reduced, /e/
PT	/e, a, ei/, reduced, /ʌ/
MA	/e, ei/
PA	/e/

The use of the full range of pronunciations in the sex comparison was due to the teenagers.

FM	equal amounts of /ei/ and /e/, /ʌ/, reduced, /a/
MM	/ei, a, e, ʌ/, reduced
FP	/e, a, ei/, reduced
MP	/e, a/, equal amounts of /ʌ/ and /ei/, reduced

(b) they-'ve, 'd, 'l⁵⁷

The preferences of the age and sex groups were as follows:

Age

MT	/ei, a, ʌ/
PT	/ei, a, ʌ, / reduced
MA	/ei, e/
PA	equal amounts of /ei/ and reduced, /e/

Sex

FM	/ei, a, ʌ, e/
MM	/ei, a, e/
FP	/ʌ/, equal amounts of /e/ and reduced
MP	/ei, a, ʌ/, reduced

Ethnicity and age were influencing factors determining which pronunciation patterns were preferred. Ethnicity played the most significant role in the pronunciation preferences of of (a) and (b) and cause while age was the more significant factor in terms of the pronunciation preferences

⁵⁷The number of tokens was less than 30 so anything said can be an indication only;

Age = MT - 17, MA - 20, MA - 12, PA - 8

Sex = FM - 15, MM - 14, FP - 7, MP - 21.

of they (a) and (b). Sex comparisons were only significant in the pronunciation preferences of of (a) and (b) (for both ethnic groups) and cause (Māori only).

Non-standard forms - Elision and Omissions

In some areas of this analysis there are very few tokens which should not deem the results void but rather serve as an indication of tendencies.

An analysis of the non-standard use of some words in some grammatical categories also revealed patterns which suggest changes in these two varieties of NZE, particularly PE. This section is discussed in two parts, the first part involves comparisons based on word counts of variants. A word count of other variants was not done and this latter section is discussed in the second part.

The omissions of the articles, prepositions, verbs following certain pronouns and the elision of the initial vowel on certain other words is discussed in this part. The results revealed that this was primarily an adult Māori linguistic behaviour, apart from the omission of the definite and indefinite articles which occurred in the data of the Māori teenagers twice as often as in that of the Māori adults, (9.0% vs 4.4%).

-Omissions of:

- Prepositions; MA 1.5 times as often as MT
- Verbs in environments following certain Pronouns; MA slightly more often MT, the difference is not statistically significant
- Articles; MT twice as often as MA

-eliding the initial vowel⁵⁸ occurred slightly more often in the Māori adult data than in that of the Māori teenagers, (34.0% vs 29.0%).

⁵⁸The word analysed primarily in this section was about but there were other occurrences in the Maori data of elision of the initial vowel on words such as electric, eleven and occurred which were added to the occurrences of about. There were no such examples in the Pakeha data other than the word about.

In all instances in the Pākehā data there were more omissions and elisions in the teenage data than in Pākehā adults' data. There were no omissions of prepositions in the data of the Pākehā adults at all, and only a very small number in the data of the Pākehā teenagers.

-Omissions of:

- Verbs in environments following certain Pronouns; PT 4 times as often as PA,
- Articles; PT 4 times as often as PA

-Eliding the initial vowel occurred twice as often in the teenage as in the adult data, (14.5% vs 6.5%).

Omissions of the verb after certain pronouns accounted for the highest incidence of omissions. The difference between the Māori adults and teenagers was negligible, (33.0% vs 30.0%) but the difference between Pākehā teenagers and adults was considerable. Omissions of the verb after certain pronouns occurred 4 times as often as in the data of the Pākehā teenagers as in that of the Pākehā adults, (20.5% vs 5.0%).

Omissions of pronouns, nouns and verbs in environments other than following certain pronouns is discussed in this part. There was no count of pronouns, nouns or verbs. In order to establish a comparison, percentages were calculated by using the total number of words per ethnic age group minus the numbers of occurrences of words already analysed per ethnic age group. For example, the Māori adults total count of words in the data was 13464, minus 3340 which represented the total number of pronouns, articles, prepositions and conjunctions in their data already analysed which left a total of 10124. The occurrences of omissions, which were few, were calculated on this figure and the percentages are therefore necessarily tiny. This was the method employed for each comparison in this section and though the Percentage are so tiny they nonetheless enable a comparison to be carried out which indicates tendencies.

The results revealed that there were more omissions of verbs in environments other than following certain pronouns in the data of the MA than that of the MT. There were more omissions of the pronouns in the MT data than in that of the MA. Omissions of nouns occurred in the MA data

only. In the Pākehā data there were more omissions of verbs in environments other than following certain pronouns in the data of the teenagers than that of the adults. There was the same amount of omissions of the pronouns in the data of both age groups.

The results of a sex-based comparison of the use of non-standard forms showed that in the Māori data these usages were favoured by the males with the possible exception of the omissions of pronouns, FM 4 times and MM once. There were twice as many omissions of the verb after certain pronouns in the male data as in that of the females, (46.0% vs 22.0%); there appeared to be marginally more omissions of the verb in other environments in the male data than that of the females, 26 compared to 23; there were 1.5 times as many omissions of the articles by males than females, (7.0 vs 5.0%); prepositions twice as often as females, (3.0% vs 1.5%); the initial vowel 1.5 times as often as females (35.5% vs 23.5%); and nouns on 3 occasions compared to once only in the data of the females.

In the Pākehā data there seemed to be more omissions of the verb by females than males in environments other than following certain pronouns, 12 occasions compared to the 4 of the males. There were 2.3 times as many omissions of prepositions by females than males, though the occurrences are very few, 4 compared to 2. There were no omissions of the noun in the Pākehā data though there were 2 omissions of pronouns in the data of both males and females. Omissions of the verb after certain pronouns occurred 2.5 times as often in the data of the males than in that of the females, (44.0% vs 8.0%); articles 1.5 times as often as females, 4.0% vs 2.5%); initial vowel twice as often as females, 14.5% vs 7.5%).

The rarity of occurrences of the use of non-standard verbs and omissions of pronouns and nouns should not necessarily deem that they be overlooked, though it does mean that nothing definitive can be said about the particular linguistic behaviour. However, the results of a comparison between the groups is significant especially as they are consistent with the results of the analysis of other variants with more acceptable numbers of occurrences and though not all of these non-standard usages have been commented on in previous research projects, all occurrences have an

explanation in terms of te reo Māori suggesting the influence of this language on general NZE, particularly PE as it is spoken by younger generations of PE speakers.

Environments where words end in vowels followed by words which begin with vowels

you, to

The expected form of the vowel in the words you and to when they precede a word beginning with a vowel is /u/. The adult groups used this vowel in this environment more often than the teenage groups. Māori adults used the highest percentage 90.0%, followed by Pākehā adults 74.0% then Māori teenagers 51.0% and finally Pākehā teenagers 32.5%. The females of both groups used the full vowel /u/ in you and to in this environment more often than the males, (Māori: FM 73.5% vs MM 62.5%. Pākehā: FP 60.5% vs MP 44.0%). The males of both groups used more intermediate and reduced forms than females, particularly MP. FP used the full forms almost 1.5 times as often as MP. It is interesting and significant for PE that PA used only 74% full forms and PT used only 32.5%. If the use of the full forms in this environment is reducing in PE these results suggest that it has been occurring for a while and also that this generation of this variety of PE speakers have accelerated the process.

The articles

The expected pronunciation of the in this environment is /ði/. Pākehā adults used the /ði/ form of the definite article 96%, followed by Māori adults 83.5% then Pākehā teenagers 70.0% and finally Māori teenagers 29.5%. Māori males used the /ði/ form of the definite article almost 1.5 times as often as female Māori (77.5% vs 55.5%) while the Pākehā groups used the very similar amounts (MP 87.0% and FP 83.0%). The reduction in use of the /ði/ form of the definite article in this environment is clearly a Māori matter, and specifically affects female teenagers. It appears that the /ði/ form might be being replaced, in ME, by the full /ðe/ form as MT used this 4.5 times as often as MA and given that FM used it 3.5 times as often as MM, it would appear that FM are the innovators. In PE the PT used /ðe/ form a remarkable 7.5 times as often as PA showing where the greatest change is occurring. Male and female Pākehā used similar amounts of the reduced forms.

Because there were such few tokens of an⁵⁹ per age and sex groups, any comment must be very tentative. This variant was unmarked for adults. Pākehā adults used the expected form of the indefinite article preceding words beginning with vowels the most 91.0%, followed by Māori adults 72.0%, then Māori teenagers 58.5% and finally Pākehā teenagers 57.0%. The adults of each group used more an than the teens of each group indicating that age rather than ethnicity is the factor influencing the decline in use of this variant. PA used an 1.5 times as often as PT while MA used this variant slightly more often than MT. The results of the sex comparison suggest that the males of both groups are the innovators in the decline in use of this variant in this environment as they both used less than the females of both groups. The greater difference was between the Māori groups. FM used an almost 2.5 times as often as MM, while FP used an 1.5 times as often as MP.

3) Linking 'r'

The use of linking 'r' was unmarked for Pākehā, especially Pākehā adults who used the highest Percentage 87%, followed by Pākehā teenagers 76% then there is quite a gap between Māori teenagers who used 36% and lastly Māori adults 28%. The results of this study correspond to Bayard's pilot study of the influence of standard American English on NZE which found that the younger speakers used somewhat less linking 'r'. (1987:15) Female Māori used marginally more /r/ than Male Māori (32% vs 30%) and there was the same difference between male and female Pākehā, (84% vs 80%). Age and sex comparisons showed this to be an ethnic difference. Because Pākehā teenagers used linking /r/ twice as often as Māori teenagers the ethnic difference will continue.

⁵⁹There were less than 30 tokens per group: Age - MT 7/12, MA 13/18, PT 8/15, PA 10/11; Sex - FM 17/21, MM 3/9, FP 9/16, MP 9/10.

The articles

Table 17: The articles a & the - Māori & Pākehā Age & Sex Comparisons

AGE COMPARISONS				
Indefinite Article	Māori		Pākehā	
	Adults	Teens	Adults	Teens
Tokens	281	192	262	233
/ei/	4 (1.5%)		7 (2.5%)	1 (0.5%)
/ʌ/	58 (20.5%)	19 (10.0%)	9 (3.5%)	11 (4.5%)
/ɛ/	22 (8.0%)	1 (0.5%)	3 (1.0%)	1 (0.5%)
Definite Article	Adults		Teens	
	Adults	Teens	Adults	Teens
Tokens	503	277	377	270
/ði/+c ⁶⁰	17 (3.5%)		13 (3.5%)	
/ði/+v	76 (15.0%)	12 (4.5%)	48 (12.5%)	26 (9.5%)
/ðʌ/+c	31 (6.0%)	13 (4.5%)		1 (0.5%)
/ðʌ/+v	3 (0.5%)	6 (2.0%)		
/ðɛ/+c	11 (2.0%)	2 (0.5%)		
/ðɛ/+v	3 (0.5%)			
SEX COMPARISONS				
Indefinite Article	Māori		Pākehā	
	Females	Males	Females	Males
Tokens	237	236	248	247
/ei/	3 (1.5%)	1 (0.5%)	2 (1.0%)	6 (2.5%)
/ʌ/	36 (15.0%)	41 (17.5%)	16 (6.5%)	4 (1.5%)
/ɛ/	12 (5.0%)	11 (4.5%)		4 (1.5%)
Definite Article	Females		Males	
	Females	Males	Females	Males
Tokens	352	428	276	371
/ði/+c	4 (1.0%)	13 (3.0%)	7 (2.5%)	6 (1.5%)
/ði/+v	36 (10.0%)	52 (12.0%)	34 (12.5%)	40 (11.0%)
/ðʌ/+c	20 (5.5%)	24 (5.5%)		1 (0.5%)
/ðʌ/+v	7 (2.0%)	2 (0.5%)		
/ðɛ/+c	9 (2.5%)	4 (1.0%)		
/ðɛ/+v	3 (1.0%)			

The full forms of the articles, stressed a as /ei/ and the as /ði/, when preceded words beginning with consonants were favoured by the adults of both ethnic groups. The difference between the

⁶⁰+c = stressed the; +v = the preceding words beginning with vowels

adult groups and their usage was slight. MA used /ðɪ/ almost 3.5 times as often as MT while PA used it almost 1.5 times as often as PT's. The difference between the teenage groups and their use of these variants in this environment were significant. MT did not use a as /ei/ at all and PT used the as /ðɪ/ twice as often as MT. These results indicate that the environments for the use of these variants is reducing and these variants may become archaic in NZE. This decline in the use of these variants in NZE appears to be led by male MT in the use of stressed a, and by female MT in the use of stressed the. Stressed the, /ðɪ/, preceding words beginning with a vowel was used by the adult groups only. As the female Māori used the least of this form it suggests that they may be the innovators in this change.

The /ʌ/ and /ðʌ/ forms of the articles were used more often by MA than by MT who used them, in turn, more often than PT and as PT used them more often than PA this suggests that these forms are increasing in use in PE. PA did not use /ðʌ/ at all. The single occurrence of /ðʌ/ in the Pākehā data was in the data of a male teenager. Māori females and males used very similar amounts of the full (ii) variant of the definite and indefinite articles while female Pākehā used the full (ii) form of the indefinite article 4 times as often as male Pākehā (6.5% vs 1.5%). These results indicate that females and in particular, female teenagers, are a significant factor influencing the increase of the full (ii) form of the indefinite article in PE. This form of the definite article preceding words beginning with vowels was used by the Māori groups only and was preferred by females who used it 4 times as often as males.

The intermediate form of the indefinite article was favoured by adults, particularly MA who used it 8 times as often as PA. PA used this form slightly more often than Māori and Pākehā teens, Male and female Māori used very similar amounts and the few tokens in the Pākehā data were said by males only. This form of the definite article was used by Māori only and was favoured by males who used it 2.5 times as often as females. This form of the definite article preceding words beginning with vowels occurred 3 times only in the data of female Māori.

To summarise these results it appears that changes might be in progress in the use of articles in NZE. The stressed forms seem to be becoming archaic as the teenagers of both groups used less of these forms than the adults of both groups and the full (i) form of the definite article, ie /ðɪ/, preceding words beginning with vowels was used by the adult groups only. Stressed a was used least by males in the Māori data and by females in the Pākehā data. Stressed the was used least by females in the Māori data and by males in the Pākehā data. The expected form of the preceding words beginning with a vowel is /ðɪ/. This form in this environment in the Māori data was used least by females and by males in the Pākehā data.

There seems to be an increase in the use of the full (ii) forms of the articles in PE as PT used more of these forms than PA. The female Pākehā used more /ʌ/ than males and only the males used the intermediate /ɛ/ form.

Māori Lexis

The Percentage of tokens are necessarily tiny as they were calculated on the total number of words per group. The Māori groups used the most Māori lexis, but both adult groups used more Māori lexis than the teenagers of their respective ethnic groups. The question, "Do you think Māori should be compulsory in schools?" was asked of 10 Māori and 11 Pākehā participants but it did not really encourage the use of Māori lexis apart from the words 'Maori' and 'Pakeha', and occasionally the phrase 'te reo Maori'. Pākehā adults used twice as many Māori words as Pākehā teenagers while Māori teenagers used 7 times as many Māori words as Pākehā teenagers. Female and male Māori used the same Percentage of Māori lexis in their data while male Pākehā used Māori lexis 1.6 times as often as female Pākehā.

Interdental Voiced Fricative /ð/

Only the Māori groups used a pronunciation approximating /d/ for the /ð/ phoneme. Sex was a significant factor influencing the use of a /d/ sounding phoneme for the /ð/ phoneme followed by age. Males used a /d/ sounding phoneme almost 3 times as often as females, (17% vs 6.3%) and Māori adults used this pronunciation 2.5 times as often as Māori teenagers, (15.7% vs 6.4%).

Summary

The age and sex comparisons showed ethnicity was the determining factor in terms of the use of full forms of grammatical words as Māori adults and teenagers both used more than their Pākehā peers. These comparisons also revealed the need for a division in ME into ME1 and ME2 determined by the language backgrounds of the speakers.

Age was more significant than sex as an influencing factor determining use of full forms of vowels in the Māori data but sex was more significant than age in the Pākehā data, females using more full forms than males. Age and sex were both significant factors after ethnicity in the sentences containing two or more full vowels in close proximity. Māori adults had about twice as many of these sentences than Māori teens and Māori females used about twice as many as males. Age was categorically an influencing factor in terms of what appears to be an increase or decrease in the use of full forms of the vowel in some words in these varieties of NZE. As at and that were preferred by the teenagers of both groups the full forms of these words may be on the increase in these varieties of NZE, while to, the, were, and as were preferred by the adults of both groups suggesting a decline in the use of full forms of these words in these varieties.

Age played a more significant role than sex influencing the pronunciation patterns of the preposition of and sex was the important influencing factor determining pronunciation patterns for the conjunction cause (abbreviation of cause). Age was more significant than sex in the choice of pronunciation preference of they.

Sex was more important than age as influencing factors after ethnicity for the elision of initial vowel. MA and MT used very similar amounts. In PE this happened more often in the data of the teens by twice as often and therefore may be a feature which will be heard more often in this variety of NZE. Given that MA used most indicates a possible source in te reo Māori. The males of both groups elided the initial vowel more often than the females of both groups.

Omissions of grammatical words occurred more in the data of both teenage groups than in that of their elders, and considerably more so in the Pākehā data. Male Māori used consistently more non-standard forms, including omissions, than female Māori while female and male Pākehā used similar amounts. The usage of non-standard verb forms, including omissions, was similar between the Māori adults and teenagers but Pākehā teenagers used considerably more non-standard verb forms than Pākehā adults.

Age was the significant factor influencing the use of full forms of the vowels on the words you, to & the when preceding words beginning with vowels. The use of full vowels on these words was preferred by the adult groups. Ethnicity determined the amount of use of linking 'r' between words which ended and began with vowels but age was the influencing factor for using an in this environment, the adult groups using more than the teenagers of both groups.

Age played a significant role in which variants were used of the articles (not including an). The full (i) forms of the articles appear to be on the decline in ME and PE. Neither MT nor PT used the full forms of the definite article when preceding words beginning with consonants. The /ei/ form of the indefinite article was not used much by any of the groups and not at all by Māori teenagers. Pākehā elders used this form 7 times as often as Pākehā teenagers. However, the tokens were so few that percentages and ratios can serve merely as a suggestion of trends. This suggests that these forms may become archaic in these varieties of NZE.

Age, after ethnicity, was a significant factor influencing the use of Māori lexis. The specific question about whether Māori should be compulsory in schools was asked of as many Pākehā as Māori adults and teenagers. The adults of both groups used more Māori words than the teenagers of both groups. While this is not surprising in the Māori data, given that the adults are fluent speakers of te Reo Māori, it is a little unexpected in today's 'climate' that Pākehā adults used more Māori lexis than Pākehā teenagers. Perhaps this difference in the Pākehā data is because Pākehā teens use more ME than their Pākehā elders and did not feel the need to use Māori lexis to show

solidarity or perhaps it reflects less knowledge of te Reo Māori among the Pākehā teenagers. This is an area where further research would not go amiss.

The interdental fricative /ð/ sounding more like /d/ word initially was categorically marked for Māori in this data and age (reflecting fluency in te Reo Māori) and sex were equal influencing factors, as the Māori adults and female Māori used considerably more than the Māori teenagers and Māori males.

Overall, after ethnicity, age seemed to be the most important factor influencing the use of these various forms in these varieties of NZE.

6. CONCLUSION

This project examined the use of full forms of the vowels in grammatical words in unstressed positions. It also looked at elisions of the initial vowel on certain words; omission of grammatical words, specifically the articles, some prepositions and some pronouns and nouns; BE and HAVE deletion; non-standard verb usage; the use of full vowels on the words you, to and the and the use of linking 'r' as well as the indefinite article as an when preceding words beginning with vowels; occurrences of Māori lexis in the data; unaspirated word initial interdental voiced fricative /ð/ sounding more like /d/. The absence of linguistic devices, which in PE make for a smooth transition between words which end and words which begin with vowels, combined with the use of full vowels in grammatical words in unstressed positions contributes to syllable-timing and gives a distinctive rhythm making speech sound 'jerky', a word which has been used in other research projects to describe ME. Because of the quantity of data and time constraints, only simple ratios were calculated for comparative purposes. While they are simple they are nonetheless very valuable as they are easily understood by the majority of people.

The analysis of the results of this project have been consistent with those of previous projects in all areas of coincidence. Some variables commented on in this project have not been mentioned in any previous research projects examining aspects of ME. The results of the earlier analyses of these variables were consistent with the results of variables examined here and in other projects in that the Māori groups generally used more of the marked variants. When examining ME a knowledge of te reo Māori and an awareness of the language background of the speakers is most important. Almost all variants mentioned in this and previous projects as being variants of ME can be traced to an explanation in te reo Māori strongly suggesting that many of the variants have been "bequeathed" to ME by te reo Māori through the speakers of te reo Māori to those who are influenced by this language. This is not to suggest that all features of ME are derived from te reo Māori. Many of the features mentioned are common to other vernacular varieties of English. What is interesting is that some of the features, eg /d/ for /ð/ did not occur in the speech of any of the Pākehā speakers in this study but is a common feature of other varieties of English, eg Black American, Jamaican English and others.

While the following paragraph is an issue not examined in this project it did have a bearing and is therefore relevant. Some recordings of speakers who identified as Māori were rejected because of the lack of obvious features of ME in their speech. This agrees with what has been commented on in other research projects, ie that not all Māori speak with a Māori accented variety of NZE. Further to this is the fact that not all Pākehā speak with Pākehā English. While collecting data for this project I came across two male Pākehā high school pupils who had quite pronounced ME but was unable to collect recordings of their speech for various reasons. Both of these young males were very keen league players and played league for quite a well known Christchurch league team. It is well known that New Zealand league teams are quite heavily represented by Māori and it is my suggestion that the speech of these young men has been influenced by that of their team mates. King (1993) comments on this phenomenon suggesting that Pākehā who 'live and work closely with Maori' may have features of ME in their speech. Robertson adds to this saying that Pākehā who have mainly Māori social network ties 'may use ME as a signal of solidarity'. (1994:20) An explanation can be offered for these Pākehā speakers of ME but what about Māori speakers of PE? In all cases the individuals concerned in this project, ie those without ME whose recordings were rejected, strongly identify as Māori and vigorously support Māori issues, as well as work with and for Māori people. The parents, children and the Pākehā husband (who is actually bidialectal) of one FMA who does not speak ME, all speak ME. All her network ties are with Māori people. Her father is a fluent speaker of te reo Māori and a respected kaumātua of Kāi Tahu. Her children are all in a bilingual class at school and her Pākehā husband teaches in a bilingual unit at a local high school, and she works with and for Māori youth. It is hardly a 'signal of solidarity' that people such as this woman speak PE. The term 'Signal of solidarity' conjures up images of the need for individuals to align themselves with a particular group which may or may not have been the group to which they were always aligned and is a political issue. But, as in the example above, this is insufficient as the reason for the use of a particular language variety unless the speaker is not from that language group. There are those who speak with ME whose aspirations, employment, income, and life-style are those traditionally associated with middle to upper middle class Pākehā. Winston Peters fits into this category. He moves freely and easily within the Pākehā system yet does not lose his Māori identity and speaks a variety of ME. That the ME variety of NZE

can be heard in the speech of pre-schoolers is a strong indication that for many it is a first language and has not been chosen for political reasons.

There was the smallest piece of evidence supporting the suggestion that ME may be a contextually defined variety (Benton 1991; King 1993; Holmes 1997). One Māori adult speaker used slightly fewer full forms when in the more formal one-to-one interview situation with a female Pākehā interviewer than when in the more relaxed class-room environment as tutor to adult Māori.

The results of this project showed that after ethnicity, age was a more significant factor than sex influencing the use of features. As there are many words where the difference between the Māori and Pākehā teenagers in their use of full forms is greater than that between Māori and Pākehā adults it would appear that the ethnic differences will continue. As the Māori teenagers used more full forms than the Pākehā groups, though somewhat fewer than their Māori elders, this would appear to support the fact that Mother tongue speakers of ME exist. The evidence for this is in the fact that Primary school age children and younger have features such as those examined in this project in their English. In this case the term 'solidarity' which "expresses the degree of closeness between speakers [with] members of the same family ... having high solidarity" ⁶¹ (Gordon et al, 1996:136) is very appropriate.

The hypothesis 'If the older Māori contributors are fluent speakers of Māori it is assumed that the English speech of these contributors will have more features of ME than the English speech of the younger generations of Māori contributors. This younger generation of Māori will, in turn, have more features of ME in their English speech than any of the Pākehā groups, particularly the older group'. As this has proven to be that case, this is strong support for the suggestion that te reo Māori is a very significant factor in the ME dialect of NZE. There is also support from the evidence of this research project that PE could have features of ME introduced by mother tongue speakers of ME who have influenced speakers of PE. Pronouncing grammatical or form words with full realizations of the vowels in environments where reduced pronunciations would be expected is a

⁶¹Exploring Language (draft)

feature of ME. Because it is occurring more often in the speech of younger Pākehā than in the speech of their Pākehā elders in certain words it would seem to be becoming a feature of PE. However, while this is the case with some of the words the opposite is occurring in other words, i.e. a change towards reduced and the result leaves PE fairly much in a status quo.

The gradual increase in syllable-timing in NZE is possibly a reflection of the social changes which have come about during this century and particularly in the last 20 or so years. Things Māori have often been disregarded by Pākehā as having no particular value to the mainstream (ie, Pākehā) culture including the language. The assimilative policies of the 20's to 40's went a long way to keeping the cultures apart. As 'indigenous' peoples are more vocal in asserting their rights and as governments and attitudes in general of the dominant culture are moving toward being less monocultural, cultural differences are not as feared as in the past by the majority. Consequently, talking Māori in the playground would be considered by many nowadays to be a wonderful thing, it would not be discouraged or punished as it would be a sign of hope for the future of the language. Likewise, talking ME or any other variety of NZE must be thought of in positive terms only.

Bibliography

- Ainsworth, Helen and Janet Holmes (1996) Syllable-Timing in NZE. *Te Reo* 39. 75-84
- Ainsworth, Helen (1993) Rhythm in New Zealand English. Unpublished Honours term paper. Wellington: Department of Linguistics, Victoria University of Wellington
- Allan, Scott (1990) The Rise of New Zealand Intonation. In Bell & Holmes (eds.), *New Zealand ways of speaking English* 115-28. Clevedon, Avon
- Anderson, L. & Aitken, R. (1968) *A study of the speech & idiom of Maori children in the Western Bay of Plenty*. MS Auckland, Auckland Teachers' College.
- Ashton-Warner, Sylvia (1963) *Teacher* N.Y.: Simon & Schuster
- Barham, I.H. (1965) *The English Vocabulary & Sentence Structure of Maori Children*. NZCER, Wellington
- Bayard, Donn (1987) Class & Change in NZE: A summary report. *Te Reo*. 30:3-36
- Bayard, Donn (1995) *Kiwitalk* Dunmore Press Ltd, Palmerston North
- Bartlett, Chris (1987) 'The vocalisation of /I/ in the speech of a sample of Christchurch fourth form students.' Unpublished Term Paper Canterbury University
- Bauer, Laurie (1986) Notes on New Zealand English Phonetics & Phonology. *English World-wide*, 7:225-58
- Bauer, Laurie (1994) English in New Zealand in Robert Burchfield (ed), *The Cambridge history of the English language*, 5:382-428. Cambridge & New York: Cambridge University Press
- Bauer, Laurie (1995) Pronunciation and Related Matters in New Zealand English in Jack Windsor Lewis (ed) *Studies in General English and Phonetics*. 320-325. London: Routledge
- Bauer, Winifred (1993) *Maori*. London & New York: Routledge
- Bell, Allan and Janet Holmes (1991) New Zealand in Jenny Cheshire (ed.) *English around the World: Sociolinguistic Perspectives*, p153-168 Cambridge & New York: Cambridge University Press
- Bell, Allan & Janet Holmes (eds.) (1994) *New Zealand Ways of Speaking English*. Clevedon, Avon
- Bender, B.W. (1971) *Language Factors in Maori Education*. Wellington, NZCER
- Benton, Richard (1966) *Research into the English language difficulties of Maori School-children, 1963-64*. Wellington: Maori Education Foundation
- Benton, Richard (1979) *The Maori language in the nineteen seventies*. Wellington, NZCER

- Benton, Richard (1981) The Flight of the Amokura: Oceanic languages and formal education in the South Pacific. Wellington: New Zealand Council for Educational Research
- Benton, Richard (1984) Maori, English, and Maori English in John B. Pride (ed.), *Cross-cultural encounters*, 110-20. Melbourne: River Seine
- Benton, Richard (1991) Maori English: A New Zealand myth? in Jenny Cheshire (ed.), *English around the World*, 187-99. Cambridge & New York: Cambridge University Press
- Biggs, Bruce (1961) The structure of New Zealand Maori . *Anthropological Linguistics* 3:1-54
- Blank, A. (1968) 'One, Two, Three, Four, Five' In J. Ewing & J. Shallcrass (eds.), *Introduction to Maori education*, p88-98. Wellington: New Zealand Universities Press.
- Bourhis, R. Y. & H. Giles (1977) The Language of Intergroup Distinctiveness In Howard Giles (ed) *Language, Ethnicity & Intergroup Relations*, p119-134
- Britain, David (1992) Linguistic change in intonation: the use of high rising terminals in New Zealand English. *Language Variation & Change* 4, 1:77-104
- Burchfield, Robert (1994) *Introduction*, Cambridge History of the English Language, 5:1-18. Cambridge & New York: Cambridge University Press
- Cheshire, Jenny (1982) *Variation in an English Dialect: a Sociolinguistic Study*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Clark, Ross (1990) Pidgin English & Pidgin Maori in New Zealand. In A. Bell & J. Holmes (eds.), *New Zealand Ways of Speaking English*, 97-114. Clevedon, Avon
- Dept of Education (1971) Maori Children and the Teacher
- Dorian, Nancy, C. (1981) *Language Death: The life cycle of a Scottish Gaelic dialect*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press
- Eagleson, R.D., Kaldor, S., Malcolm, I.G., (1982) *English and the Aboriginal Child*. Canberra: Curriculum Development Center.
- Eckert, Penelope (1989) 'The whole woman: Sex and gender differences in variation.' *Language Variation & Change*, 1:245-267
- Edwards, Viv (1986) *Language in a Black Community*. England: Multilingual Matters

- Ewing, J & J. Shallcrass (eds.) (1970) *Introduction to Maori education*, 122-32. Wellington: New Zealand Universities Press.
- Fishman, Joshua A. (1977) Language & Ethnicity in H. Giles (ed.) *Language, Ethnicity & Intergroup Relations*, p15-52.
- Foster, J. (1987) *He Whakamārama A New Course in Maori*. Auckland: Reed
- George H. V. (1969) Language & Social Equality. *Te Kaunihera Maori*, Autumn Issue: p31-37
- George H. V. (1974) Bernstein's Generalisation *Education* 3:20-21
- Giles, Howard (ed.) (1977) *Language, Ethnicity & Intergroup Relations*. London: Academic Press Inc (London) Ltd.
- Giles, H., Bourhis, R.T., Taylor, D.M. (1977) Towards a Theory of Language in Ethnic Group Relations. In H. Giles (ed.) *Language, Ethnicity & Intergroup Relations*, p307-344
- Gimson, A.C. (1975) *An introduction to the pronunciation of English*. London: Arnold
- Gordon, Elizabeth (1974) A Convenient Explanation *Education* 3:22-23
- Gordon, Elizabeth (1991) The development of spoken English in New Zealand. In Graham McGregor & Mark Williams (eds.), *Dirty silence: Aspects of language and literature in New Zealand*, 19-28. Auckland: Oxford University Press
- Gordon, Elizabeth, Holstein, E, Hervey, S, Leitch, R. (1996) *Exploring Language: a handbook for teachers*. Wellington: Learning Media.
- Gudykunst, W.B. (1981) Language & Ethnic Identity: An Overview & Prologue in *Language & Ethnic Identity* 1-14, Multilingual Matters Ltd, England & U.S.A.
- Hall, Moira (1976) An Acoustic Analysis of New Zealand Vowels. Unpublished MA Thesis, Auckland: University of Auckland
- Haugen, Eugene (1966) Dialect, Language, Nation, *American Anthropologist*, 68:922-35
- Hawkins, Peter (1972) Restricted codes & Maori English. *New Zealand Journal of Educational Studies* 7:59-68
- Hewitt, J (1982) White Adolescent Creole Users & the Politics of Friendship *Journal of Multilingual & Multicultural Development*
- Hogg, M.A. (1988) Language attitudes, frames of reference and social identity: A Scottish dimension In W.B. Gudykunst (ed) *Language & Ethnic Identity*, p45-57. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters Ltd, England & U.S.A.

- Holmes, Janet, & Allan Bell (1990). Attitudes, varieties, discourse: An introduction to the sociolinguistics of New Zealand English. In Bell & Holmes (eds.), p1-20.
- Holmes, Janet, Allan Bell & Mary Boyce (1992). Variation and change in New Zealand English: A social dialect investigation. Project report to the social Sciences Committee of the foundation for Research, Science and Technology. Wellington; Victoria University.
- Holmes, Janet and Allan Bell (1996) Maori English. In Peter Mühlhäusler, Darrell Tyron and Stephen Wurm (eds). *Atlas for Intercultural Communication in the Pacific Hemisphere*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter. 177-181
- Holmes, Janet (1997) Maori and Pakeha English: some NZ social dialect data. *Language in Society*, 26:65-101.
- Huygens, Ingrid & Graham M. Vaughan (1983) Language attitudes, ethnicity and social calss in New Zealand. *Journal of Multilingual & Multicultural Development*. 4. 2-3;207-223
- Jacob, Jenny (1991) A grammatical comparison of the casual speech of Maori & Pakeha women in Levin. *Te Reo* 34:53-70
- Kalleen, J.L. (1994) English in Ireland in *Cambridge History of the English Language*, 5:145-199 M. Hogg (ed). Cambridge & New York: Cambridge University Press
- Kaye, A.S. (1991) A So-Called Dialect of English in James R. Dow (ed.) *Language & Ethnicity*, Vol 2:169-181. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- King, Jeannette (1993) Maori English: A phonological study. *New Zealand English Newsletter* 7:33-47
- Labov, William (1966) *The social Stratification of English in New York City*. Center for applied Linguistics, Washington.
- Labov, William (1989) 'The Child as Linguistic Historian' *Language Variation & Change* 1:86-
- Labov, William (1990) The intersection of sex and social class in the course of linguistic change. *Language Variation & Change* 2:205-245
- Lambert, W.E. (1967) A social psychology of bilingualism. *Journal of Social Issues* 23:91-109
- Leap, W. (1993) *American Indian English*. University of Utah Press, Salt Lake City.

- Mc Callum, Janet (1978) In Search of a Dialect. *New Zealand Journal of Educational Studies* 13:133-43
- McClure, J.D. (1994) English in Scotland in Robert Burchfield (ed) *Cambridge History of the English Language*, 5:23-92. Cambridge & New York: Cambridge University Press
- McGregor, Graham and Mark Williams (eds) 1990. *Dirty Silence: aspects of language and literature in New Zealand*. Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Metge, Joan (1964) *A New Maori Migration. Rural and Urban Relations in Northern New Zealand*. Melbourne University Press.
- Meyerhoff, Miriam (1994). Sounds pretty ethnic, eh?: A Pragmatic Particle in New Zealand English. *Language in Society* 23:367-88
- Milroy, Lesley (1980) *Language & Social Networks*. Oxford: Blackwell
- Milroy, Lesley (1987) *Observing and analysing natural language: a critical account of sociolinguistic method*. Oxford, OX, U.K.
- Milroy, Lesley (1989) Social Networks and Language Maintenance. *Language and Language Variation*, 36-44
- Mitcalfe, Barry (1967) Survivals of Maori in English. *Education* 16.8:20-22
- Nicholson, Rangi & Garland, Ron (1991) New Zealander's attitudes to the revitalisation of the Maori language. *Journal of Multilingual & Multicultural Development* 12: 393-411
- Pride, John B. (1974) Maori Children & Bernstein: a linguistic appraisal *Education* 3:17-20
- Reid, P. (1966) Why Call it a Maori Difficulty? *National Education* 48:74-75
- Richards, J. C. (1968) Language problems of Maori children. *Comment*, 36:23-32
- Richards, J. C. (1970) The language factor in Maori schooling. In J. Ewing & J. Shallcrass (eds.), *Introduction to Maori education*, 122-32. Wellington: New Zealand Universities Press.
- Robertson, Shelley (1996) Maori English and the bus-driving listener: a study of ethnic identification and phonetic cues. *Wellington Working Papers in Linguistics*, Number 8.
- Ryan, B & Carranza, M.A. (1977) Reaction to Mexican American Language Varieties In H. Giles (ed.) *Language, Ethnicity & Intergroup Relations*, p59-80. London: Academic Press
- Ryan, E. (1979) 'Why do Low-Prestige Language Varieties Persist? In H. Giles & R.N.St Clair (eds.) *Language & Social Psychology*

- Salmond, Anne (1974). Maori English and the restricted code. *Education* 3:21-22.
- Scott, D.I. (1970) *Some structural analyses of the colloquial English of certain urban Maori and Pakeha children ages 6 & 8 years*. Unpublished MA Dissertation. Auckland: University of Auckland
- Simon, J. (1984) "Good Intentions, But ..." *National Education*. Vol 66, No 4:133-139
- Tajfel, H; Jahoda, G.; Nemeth, C.; Rim, Y.; and Johnson, N.B. (1972) The devaluation by children of their own national and ethnic group: two case studies. *British Journal of social and Clinical Psychology*, 11: 235-43
- Thomas, A.R. (1994) English in Wales in *Cambridge History of the English Language* 5:94-147. Robert Burchfield (ed). Cambridge & New York: Cambridge University Press
- Thompson, Wendy (1990) 'Attitudes to Maori and the use of Maori lexical items in English'. *Wellington Working Papers in Linguistics*.
- Trudgill, Peter (1974) *The social differentiation of English in Norwich*. Cambridge: C.U.P.
- Trudgill, Peter (1983) *On dialect: Social and geographical perspectives.*, Sociolinguistics & Linguistic Theory, 8-51. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Vaughan, G.M. & Huygens, I. (1990). Sociolinguistic stereotyping in New Zealand. In Bell & Holmes (eds.), 49-66.
- Wolfram, W.A., & Fasold, R.W. (1974) *The Study of Social Dialects in the United States*. Englewood Cliffs; Prentice -Hall Inc., U.S.A.

Appendices

CONTENTS

Appendix 1	Calculations of Tokens - Ethnicity/Age/Sex
Appendix 2	List of Authors and Dates
Appendix 3	Word Counts of Each speaker
Appendix 4	Transcriptions of Interviews

Appendix 1

Calculations of Tokens

Ethnicity/Age/Sex

Maori Totals		√	mid	-	Pakeha Totals		√	mid	-
them	104	25 24.	1 1.	78 75.	120	12 10.			108 90.
Teens	60	13 21.7		47 78.3	86	6 7.			80 93.
Adults	44	12 27.3	1 2.3	31 70.5	34	6 17.6			28 82.4
Female	52	15 28.8		37 71.2	62	6 9.7			56 90.3
Male	52	10 19.2	1 1.9	41 78.9	58	6 10.3			52 89.7
were	43	12 27.9	1 2.3	30 69.8	100	14 14.	2 2.		84 84.
Teens	14	2 14.3		12 85.7	24				24 100.
Adults	29	10 34.5	1 3.4	18 62.1	76	14 18.4	2 2.6		60 79.
Female	20	7 35.		13 65.	69	12 17.4	2 2.9		55 79.7
Male	23	5 21.7	1 4.4	17 73.9	31	2 6.5			29 93.5
her	41	39 95.1		2 4.9	45	29 64.5	1 2.2		15 33.3
Teens	26	24 92.3		2 7.7	20	12 60.	1 5.		7 35.
Adults	15	15 100.			25	16 64.	1 4.		8 32.
Female	31	29 93.5		2 6.5	27	18 66.7	2 7.4		7 25.9
Male	10	10 100.			18	10 55.6			8 44.4

Appendix 1

Calculations of Tokens

					Ethnicity/Age/Sex				

Appendix 1

Calculations of Tokens

Ethnicity/Age/Sex

Maori Totals		√	mid	-	Pakeha Totals		√	mid	-
cause	176	77 43.8	9 5.1	90 51.1	100	20 20.	4 4.	76 76.	
Teens	141	56 39.7	6 4.3	79 56.	80	19 23.8	2 2.5	59 73.7	
Adults	35	21 60.	3 8.6	11 31.4	20	1 5.	2 10.	17 85.	
Female	79	36 45.6	3 3.8	40 50.6	60	14 23.3	3 5.	43 71.7	
Male	97	41 42.3	6 6.2	50 51.5	40	6 15.	1 2.5	33 82.5	
and	785	507 64.6	4 .5	274 34.9	796	250 31.4	3 .4	543 68.2	
Teens	406	238 58.6		168 41.4	391	133 34.		258 66.	
Adults	379	269 71.	4 1.	106 28.	405	117 28.9	3 .7	285 70.4	
Female	379	238 62.8	4 1.1	137 36.1	379	136 35.9	3 .8	240 63.3	
Male	406	269 66.3		137 33.7	417	114 27.3		303 72.7	
at	128	87 68.	10 7.8	31 24.2	114	32 28.1	2 1.7	80 70.2	
Teens	44	33 75.	1 2.3	10 22.7	63	24 38.1		39 61.9	
Adults	84	54 64.3	9 10.7	21 25.	51	8 15.7	2 3.9	41 80.4	
Female	62	47 75.8	5 8.1	10 16.1	49	13 26.5	1 2.1	35 71.4	
Male	66	40 60.6	5 7.6	21 31.8	65	19 29.2	1 1.5	45 69.3	

Appendix 1

Calculations of Tokens

Ethnicity/Age/Sex

	Maori Totals	✓	mid	-	Pakeha Totals	✓	mid	-
that	151	132 87.4		19 12.6	149	36 24.2	4 2.7	109 73.1
Teens	52	47 90.4		5 9.6	48	22 45.8		26 54.2
Adults	99	85 85.9		14 14.1	101	14 13.9	4 3.9	83 82.2
Female	93	91 97.8		2 2.2	110	28 25.5	3 2.7	79 71.8
Male	58	41 70.7		17 29.3	39	8 20.5	1 2.6	30 76.9
as	123	50 40.7	4 3.3	69 56.1	89	15 16.9		74 83.1
Teens	39	5 12.8		34 87.2	31	2 6.5		29 93.5
Adults	84	45 53.6	4 4.8	35 41.6	58	13 22.4		45 77.6
Female	56	23 41.1	1 1.8	32 57.1	35	5 14.3		30 85.7
Male	67	27 40.3	3 4.5	37 55.2	54	10 18.5		44 81.5
an, can, than	73	25 34.2	2 2.7	46 63.	70	2 2.9		68 97.1
Teens	25	4 16.		21 84.	32	2 6.25		30 93.75
Adults	48	21 43.8	2 4.2	25 52.	38			38 100.
Female	41	17 41.5	1 2.4	23 56.1	32			32 100.
Male	32	8 25.	1 3.1	23 71.9	38	2 5.3		36 94.7

Appendix 1

Calculations of Tokens

Ethnicity/Age/Sex

Maori Totals		√	mid	-	Pakeha Totals		√	mid	-
are	62	34 54.8	8 12.9	20 32.3	34	1 2.9	1 2.9	32 94.2	
Teens	17	7 41.2		10 58.8	16	1 6.25	1 6.25	14 87.5	
Adults	45	27 60.	8 17.8	10 22.2	18			18 100.	
Female	39	23 59.	3 7.7	13 33.3	12	1 8.3	1 8.3	10 83.4	
Male	23	11 47.8	5 21.7	7 30.5	22			22 100.	
we've	35	9 25.7	1 2.9	25 71.4	19	16 84.2		3 15.8	
Teens	27	4 14.8	1 3.7	22 81.5	13	12 92.3		1 7.7	
Adults	8	5 62.5		3 37.5	6	4 66.7		2 33.3	
Female	19	3 15.8		16 84.2	13	11 84.6		2 15.4	
Male	16	6 37.5	1 6.3	9 56.2	6	5 83.3		1 16.7	
/r/	326	102 31.		224 69.	353	290 82.		63 18.	
Teens	137	49 36.		88 64.	170	130 76.		40 24.	
Adults	189	53 28.		136 72.	183	160 87.		23 13.	
Female	184	59 32.		125 68.	155	124 80.		31 20.	
Male	142	43 30.		99 70.	198	166 84.		32 16.	

Appendix 2

List of Authors and Dates

1) Projects describing and analysing specific features of ME:

- Ainsworth, H. Holmes, J. (1996) Syllable-Timing in NZE.
- Ainsworth, H. (1993) Rhythm in New Zealand English.
- Allan, Scott (1990) The Rise of New Zealand Intonation.
- Anderson, L. & Aitken, R. (1968) *A study of the speech & idiom of Maori children in the Western Bay of Plenty.*
- Barham, I.H. (1965) *The English Vocabulary & Sentence Structure of Maori Children.*
- Benton, R. (1966) *Research into the English language difficulties of Maori School-children, 1963-64.*
- Britain, D. (1992) Linguistic change in intonation: the use of high rising terminals in New Zealand English.
- Clark, R (1990) Pidgin English & Pidgin Maori in New Zealand.
- Hall, M. (1976) An Acoustic Analysis of New Zealand Vowels.
- Holmes, Janet, & Bell, Allan & Boyce, Mary, (1992). Variation and change in New Zealand English: A social dialect investigation.
- Holmes, J. (1997) Maori and Pakeha English: some NZ social dialect data.
- Jacob, J. (1991). A grammatical comparison of the casual speech of Maori & Pakeha women in Levin.
- King, J. (1993) Maori English: A phonological study.
- Mc Callum, J. (1978) In Search of a Dialect.
- Meyerhoff, M (1994). Sounds pretty ethnic, eh?: A Pragmatic Particle in New Zealand English.
- Robertson, S. (1994) *Identifying Maori English: A study of ethnic identification, attitudes and phonetic features.*
- Scott, D.I. (1970) *Some structural analyses of the colloquial English of certain urban Maori and Pakeha children ages 6 & 8 years.*

2) Discussions in general and specifically about ME:

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|--|
| Ashton-Warner, S. (1963) | <i>Teacher</i> |
| Bayard, D (1995) | <i>KiwiTalk</i> |
| Bauer, L (1994) | English in New Zealand |
| (1995) | Pronunciation and Related Matters |
| Bell, A. & Holmes, J. (1991) | Sociolinguistic Research on New Zealand English |
| Bender, B.W. (1971) | <i>Language Factors in Maori Education</i> . |
| Benton, R. (1979) | The Maori language in the nineteen seventies |
| (1984) | Maori, English, and Maori English |
| (1991) | Maori English: A New Zealand myth? |
| Blank, A. (1968) | 'One, Two, Three, Four, Five' |
| Dept of Education (1971) | Maori Children and the Teacher |
| George H. V. (1969) | Language & Social Equality. |
| (1974) | Bernstein's Generalisation |
| Gordon, E. (1974) | A Convenient Explanation |
| Hawkins, P. (1972) | Restricted codes & Maori English. |
| Holmes, Janet, & Bell, Allan (1990). | Attitudes, varieties, discourse: An introduction to the
sociolinguistics of New Zealand English |
| *Holmes, J., & Bell, A. | 'Maori English' (H/o) |
| Mitcalfe, B. (1967) | Survivals of Maori in English. |
| Pride, J.B. (1974) | Maori Children & Bernstein: a linguistic appraisal |
| Richards, J. C. (1968) | Language problems of Maori children. |
| (1970) | The language factor in Maori schooling. |
| Salmond, Anne (1974). | Maori English and the restricted code. |

3) Attitude Studies

Huygens, Ingrid & Graham M. Vaughan (1983) Language attitudes, ethnicity and social class in New Zealand.

Robertson, S. (1994) *Identifying Maori English: A study of ethnic identification, attitudes and phonetic features.*

Thompson, W. (1990) 'Attitudes to Maori and the use of Maori lexical items in English'.

Appendix 3

Word Counts of Each Speaker

Appendix 3

Word Counts of Speakers

Listed in the chart below are the word counts for each speaker with sub-totals of each group:

	Maori		Pakeha
Female Adult	1	340	929
	2	1871	865
	3	1647	962
	4	1539	1370
	5	1345	1404
Totals		7147	5535
Male Adult	1	1397	1348
	2	1589	617
	3	874	1562
	4	1438	1377
	5	1424	1052
Totals		6727	5956
Female Teenagers	1	339	798
	2	388	725
	3	438	751
	4	432	713
	5	2260	454
	6	303	567
	7	753	470
	8	650	451
	9	1399	601
Totals		6220	5730
Male Teenagers	1	1809	1117
	2	1216	872
	3	607	572
	4	447	1073
	5	414	493
	6	1078	548
	7	655	377
	8	465	619
Totals		6691	5671
Teenage Totals		12911	11401
Adult Totals		13874	11491
Group Total		26785	22892

Appendix 4

Transcriptions of Interviews

Notes concerning recordings transcriptions of interviews

1. Some transcriptions of interviews have not been included in the appendices according to the wishes of the speakers concerned. All tape recordings and transcriptions of those recordings have been made available to the supervisor of this research project only. All tapes and recordings of interviews and transcriptions of those interviews which speakers did not mind being made available to bona-fide researchers only are stored in the Linguistics Department of the University of Canterbury.

2.
 - The symbol '()' throughout the transcriptions means that someone other than the target speaker was speaking.
 - Three full stops '...' indicate the deletion of a name or section of the interview.

3. The interviews with FMT6 and FMT7 were recorded in a group situation. This was also the case with the interviews with FMT8 and FMT9 though there was a third FMT present whose speech was not transcribed. The transcriptions of what each speaker said appears separately.

4. Only part of each interview is included.

5. Punctuation is minimal.

MĀORI

FMA2

() rotorua () twenty five years () yes () till i got to school () it was hard um in fact it made me sick a lot i never sorta had a good attendance yeah sort of come down with all sorts of funny things like colds and flus anything you name it that stopped me going psychologically i was a bit bit hard for me () i think it went on for um there was a a phase there bout seven to nine years old i i just kind of ah bed ridden but it wasn't really a psychological it may have been but it was it was a physical thing like you know colds and pneumonia those kinda illnesses but it wasn't really a mental illnesses () nothing by that type but i think it did a lot to my schooling as far as yeah cause my grandmother bought me up which made it a lot harder you know her administrations or ministrations was all in maori and ah though though i was in touch with the pakeha world but not deep enough to do anything for me rather you know just a ah surface things like ah butter bread you know all that sorta english words were coming into the household but to be in their protection or safeguard has sorta scared me a lot cause it was nothing you know wasn't an experience of mine to be with those kinda people for what six hours in a day or five hours in a day so was a bit spooky () sorta came around towards the end say intermediate years sort of came around then sort of started to take interest and beginning to take a um oh what is it get involved with things like sports and things () and then when i went to high school well it was sports was the main thing you know academically i was a bit () yeah my i never see really had a primary english experience but i'd a lotta primary maori experiences but ah in a different yeah in a different concepts they were conflicting so no not a great achievement i'm afraid () yes yes yeah () well long term effects is probably my make up from the i don't know that got me through cause i did a a nursing course and passed that you know i did courses and passed in later years and i'm still sort of in that mode passing courses i don't think i was stunted i just couldn't deal with the difference i think thats the difference of culture the difference of concepts was hard for me to grasp and yet when i was at primary school i remember i could read quite easily but the holistic learning didn't get to me so i could read whoopee you know so i can do drama and copy people you know thats us maoris we copy we're good at that but nothing sorta sunk in but i did learn to read a lot i think my grandfather was the the main instigator of reading like the old phantoms mandrakes i

FMA3

right () um not sure () i was born in taumaranui () um just out of turangi round ah what area would that be ngati maniapoto round there () oh thats on towards tuwharetoa on that side um yeah () and then as we grew up we lived in te teko which is in the bay of plenty there in a small town and i grew up there till when i began oh when i started at ah ah secondary school yeah but the most of my life i lived in bay of plenty () actually well being a maori i started at the marae my school was at the marae there was oh there must be about must be about six along the same road and that's where i believe that i started school on the marae and went into the school at six i think yeah about six years () um it was turned into a main stream when my older brothers and sisters went to the same primary school it was maori it was a maori school then and it was all done in maori but till i came into into the school maori was starting to get phased out and um learned english and that there though i came from a maori family background at home i went and learned english at this primary school () um ok the teachers were good well they could relate to us you know as maori kids too we were sort of on the edge of in maori the reo was starting to um phase out lot of the my age group we were just lucky we were just on the edge of it when maori was still alive and then as i started to get older to form two the reo was the pakeha was coming in more yeah () hm cause i had older brothers and sisters yeah and then myself and then had the younger ones which missed out they missed out yeah cause they english was more suitable to speak than maori () um quicker it was quicker to say and you know reply and that um and then slowly the interests for maori didn't didn't interest them so english was more easy to communicate () um they were all maori what i remember yep right um they actually went to the school there themselves so it was a family of oh the older brothers and sisters went to the same school and they became teachers and then they came back to the same school and taught there () in the nineteen about nineteen seventy yeah () to um pursue a job you know career come down here to live but actually actually still living here and going home at the same sign time keeping connections with you know contact with home () um my younger brothers and sisters but they've all they all went back as soon as you know stay here for couple couplea years and went back cause they obviously got homesick and that mm () yeah () um not very many but just a sister and a few cousins that he has yeah () but yeah thats about it () well being on a shortened te atakura course

FMA4

you are made to do something if you don't want to but to try and save the language i would agree with it and at this school here well at where i am teaching i i only teach third formers for a term and and i find thats not sufficient i i would prefer it where even if i had them to mid-term break thats a big help so i'm ive only got two classes a year so really by the time you teach one lot for the first term you mightnt see nine times out of ten you mightnt have them in at fourth form level so () can't and i find i'm you know sort of rushing with the work so really they only get a grasp if if anything at all if they remember but those who take it at ah term three in term three they've got more of a chance cause its still fresh in their minds then they can come straight to ah fourth form but what i find hard is i don't think enough parents out there are encouraging their children take maori especially um ah children of maori descent and thats happening here () well quite a few them are choosing japanese but i i don't think ah i mean even what we try and do here is even it out cause french was falling down too but now french is picking up and ah and i do find cause the three of us we in one block together and we do try support i () yeah yeah so ah but the fourth form they have it the whole year the fifth and sixth ive never had a seventh form here and even in sixth form level they seem to peter out you know you might just end up with six and um i don't find it a fault with the teacher though i just think () it just the way it goes either the the the students they leave and ah they don't come back so um hopefully maybe next year that i will get a good good number i'm trying encourage the fifth formers which is the biggest class ive had so far to stay () yes ive got a dog called tiger hes seventeen years old so hes an old man () hes um part miniature pug and hes actually hes never been like a dog hes been more like like ah part of the family hes never slept outside but the poor thing hes getting so old now you know and he sort of acts like a a little baby especially if i'm around he expects me as soon as i walk in give him a little tickle and one i like um quite happy about him is he he accepted the grandchildren at at the start well ... shes three and a half shell be four in october and he used to get a bit jealous and then when i think good thing about it was i got the grandchildren five in so many years and now they can go and play with him and he ah () because he ah hes really you know hes never been a dog where you throw a ball and he chases the ball or throw anything in the water no hes never been brought up that way hes been brought up as a pet and part of the family () well we were arguing and wasting time bout what name we were going to call him so my husband said tiger

FMA5

compulsory in schools i would love to have maori as a compulsory subject um because um maori te reo maori now um is an official language so i think um to have te reo maori as a compulsory subject would marry the two um and would actually be like um well new zealand or the whole country acknowledging te reo maori not just making it an official language um yes i i quite agree personally but then practically and where they're back to you know the classroom and then back to the grass roots the parents it may be impractical at this stage () probably a bit of resistance from both maori families and um european families and quite rightly so they probably right in their own way of thinking that um well we we are free in new zealand to think these thoughts but um () ok well um compulsory subjects english maths um and the science some well the sciences um probably we're leaning towards um preparing students for after school in terms of the employment um and then in those days probably the the nineteen fifty sixty seventies there weren't any jobs for skills ah or for students with te reo maori skills so nowadays there a /I/ you know in the nineteen nineties ah late nineteen eighties and nineteen nineties there are jobs for um students who have completed school certificate maori um university maori there are you know excellent um prospects there for them now and ah whether its had something to do whether its to do that with our language being made official or um whether the communities have pushed you know for te reo maori ah i see it as positive actually and um you know that we have kura kaupapa now and total immersion and all stemming from communities working together and um i i look forward to probably the day um when we have kura kaupapa here or reo rua um i personally would always be involved in mainstream as well i i probably would stay in mainstream te reo maori () because i think its important that your your um mainstream maori within the school system is is still kept alive um rather than um reo rua total immersion will always move on but you find um one of them tends to lose a bit of the mana and um i probably would remain with with mainstream and just sort of you know work with the two but um i think its important that um that your mainstream language is still um carried through in a in an appropriate manner to you know for for all the students () why do we have to do maori well we have um i have some students who have taken maori ive never actually had a student who say why do i have to do maori but um i have students who are students of te reo maori who come into class and they just don't want to work so you know similar ahua um we probably ive ive found this term um

MMA1

tohu oro oh the top one whaka () a e i o u () a as in () a ah e in ferry yes that ka pai teeraa i ah kite or
 kit o ordain u cookie () ah a as in ah or a in father e in fairy i in preen o order u in moon yeah ka pai
 teeraa () yes a as in hat ah () oh well yes um um well these darned shingles of mine is ah is getting me
 a bit mixed up () yes ah you see the maori alphabet a e i o u is haka mana para tawa nga wha and ah
 e heke mene pere tewe nga um heke mene pere tewe nge whe hiki mini piri tiwi ngi whi hoko mono
 poro towo ngo who huku munu huku munu tuwu ngu whu thats the maori alphabet yes i think i may
 have ah sent it to you before if not well i'll send them down to you () a e i o u a as in a duck ae d u c k
 () cut ah e in fairy fairy e i is in kit or sit o ordain and u cookie a as in are or in father and e in fair fairy a
 ah in fairy ah i in pre the two ees in preen pre o or o is in order the o in order and u is in moon you see
 like you drag u into moon () and what else do you () yes well () yes () yes thats quite quite ah correct
 that one you see a order you see car and dah a e e in fairy o is in or o in ordain u in two o in cookie ()
 well there's a different very ah pronunciation now down the south island its called ah well the wh is
 /fʰΔ/ like with a f but they ah north like taranaki wh is in /wΔ/ they don't pronounce the h you see
 taranaki don't pronounce the h but ah down south island its pronounced as a f () like my name in
 down south /faitêri/ but up north its /waitêri/ /waitêri/ you see they cut the h out () whare thats a
 house hm () yeah well thats taranaki /wUri/ () yes yes well the chatham island em the chatham
 island dialect is ah taranaki () hm thats why you see my name is /waitêri/ its an but down here is
 /faitêri/ () po poto yeah poto for p o () pretty well the same hm p paul () /wΔr i/ yes () the t is
 pronounced as in e in english yes t t the e in english the t sounds like the e in english () see e like a t t
 and e in english you see e english () a as an f in a fan never heard heard of that one a as in f in fan
 well ive never heard of that one before () oh () oh yes yes oh yes thats right oh yes () yes yes well
 you see the taranaki don't pronounce the h its only in the south island () yes () well of course the
 chatham islands em its a well out of the way where a lot of people ah had to make up their own living
 down there like eh people make up their own bread there's not they havent got a bakery down there
 and ah they make up their up own entertainments ah children of course they um make up their own
 sporting and so forth but the grown ups you see they more or less um interested in um race horses
 or ah shooting and um um they find their own entertaining as well like football or cricket something
 like what the children have to copy () well we played football we played cricket we played ah tennis

MMA2

yeah so those must be the old batteries () ok so you want me to just read ()

() oh yeah () now with our iwi here i look after our iwi here and actually i'm just the pakeke for for all our () oh it would be just maori ah oh mum they were all maori in fact i i was bought up with people that didn't even speak in english at all () when i went to school or we we we heard it a lot because we went to mission school and and and cause we heard it through the school through the sunday cause we were committed to the presbyterian church () hm () yeah i just i'll go and have a look and see

...

yeah yeah thats right () yeah thats right () ah kua puta mai give me mine ive been waiting for that ne ae yeah () hm and even at at school we only spoke english at school because even at home maori was well as i say we we lived that very strong communal life and of course i grew up with my grandparents as well and we we all lived together may not be in the same house but we were always in the community and of course i lived with all those people with the mokos and that was they knew no english at all and then well as i say um it was maori was very dominant () oh yeah we went to college with the um we went to to um ordinary school in a public school um but at primary school we went to a mission school and of course the mission school belong there was a government school in the area as well but that was you know open to the whole of waimana it was ours was just ah well just for our area and so the english we did hear was was a was the sisters it was presbyterian and they were the teachers we were the and they taught us until we we got to form three and then we went to the public school in opotoki () yes oh yeah yeah we we we learnt a lot of english they they taught us practically grammatical english and everything so um () yeah yeah () well um being the the teachers that they were they they they were trained teachers um although they were part of the preaching um on sundays but theirs was mostly the teaching sunday school or bible classes but the actual preaching and that well the the we had a minister do all that () o.k. you're welcome

MMA3

i was born in wairua hawkes bay () my first language is maori () oh from from birth () yes () no um my whole life from birth i been i been predominantly brought up in a maori atmosphere you know on a at a maori pa and and the whole environment was that of maori and in other words what i'm saying is that i was never brought up in the materialistic you know life i was more brought up in a spiritual side of life which was maoritanga mm () well um at the time i went to school i was about say about thirteen fourteen about that that time () hm () um well more or less in that age group you know when i when i just about um reached more or less the adolescent age mm which i got a standard four and finished () no () no other schooling mm mm () no other schooling () i'm the oldest in in my fathers family () but but um on my fathers side because you see my father i was born out of wedlock you know my father and mother never ever married and on my fathers side he remarried and hes got hes got that two children on this side on my mothers side out of all out of all her children she's had twenty three children altogether so there's fourteen there's fourteen of us alive ive only just discovered this because ive been brought up more or less on my fathers side on my fathers side more than my mothers side yes but my cousin yeah my mothers sisters son hes in here he's he was the one who told me my mother had a large family of twenty three () pardon () well then um its only just recently i start meeting you know the various ones who are known as my brother and sisters but i don't believe in in in this thing about um you know when it comes step brother step sisters i don't i don't look at you know at them as such i look at them just as my brother and sister rather than say oh you're my you're my half sister you're my half brother i you know because i believe cause ive been brought up in the belief of whanau you know we all the one family so with so whether there's as long as there's that little bit of blood that belongs to whomever in the whanau you're still you know the one () their father are their father european mm he's a pakeha their father () not really because they been brought up predominantly predominantly european way of life () i'm the only one out of the out of the whole family thats been brought up by the old people you know going right back to those days () oh well once upon a time i never used to think so () but in this in in this day and age () in this rather than rather than but then when i hit fifty this little this little girl came into my bedroom i was getting all ready to go to go on a rage with my friends thinking that i was still that young you know young person and this little girl came into my room and she said to me oh koro you

MMA4

road all middle of the road music um you know for from the young to the old sort of style um which i find is which is best in the music field because then you can cover anything see like on a friday night i might go to a hotel well i just do sort of ragey stuff then the next day i might be playing for a wedding so you gotta sort of tone it down for the start and just work your way up so it's variations through the music um i'm tied up with um at the moment with ah a a group of musicians that call it um entertainers club and also the musicians club so i have a wee bit to do with them ah through my entertainment my family life i have ah two daughters ones four fifteen and her name is ... and my youngest one is thirteen her name is ... and my wife is called ... and she's employed at the moment at ... () ah she's maori her mothers ah from originally from otaki and ah she ah is a a ... she's a ... down here but she's a a part of the bevan family from up there () yeah () yeah () kai tahu yeah ngati toa and um so both both girls are sort of really interested in sport um netball swimming softball um ah we've sort of we really tried to um combine our working time with the children with their sports and their schools um school activities ah oh () oh i originally ah i ah come from a little town called ah i was brought up in a little town called thornton which is right up the top beside or not far from whakatane but originally my my hapu or thing came from waimana my grandmother came from waimana my grandfather came from ruatoki um ah and my mother my mother was brought up in waimana before we we before i was born in thornton um so and then from there i we went from thornton when my mother my grandfather died first my grandmother died then my grandmother then my mother and i think i was about age of eleven when they when that all happened so i was adopted to a family ah which had about twelve children they took me in as as a foster um () all their own children and i i've never regretted it and cause now i call them i i call them now ah my mum and dad but ah well the one i call mum now she's she has died about five six years ago and it's just my dad who's alive at the moment um but i get on very well with the rest of the family ah they accept me as their brother um but originally i have no other brothers and sisters um and i don't really know who my father was and i i never really wanted to find out i know that my that carol keeps saying you gotta find out who your father is gotta find out your father but i think being maori people ... so i have no i have relations down here um in in christchurch um but not really close ones i think the closest one here in christchurch to me is ah ... who's actually my grandmothers his his mother was my

MMA5

ah yeah but ah ah i'm divided on that um i'm divided on that on that one ah only simply because the ah the its too late its too late to to to rescue it as a number one language right () oh yeah tis its far too late for that it needs to be bilingual now () you get what i mean? it needs to be both languages that needs to be taught or needs to be ah ah spoken not ah maori language to be the paramount language of new zealand anymore () you get what i mean that's what people are pushing for ah ah to be its number one language and i'm a bit divided on that one ah only because i'm this what i'm saying its its bit late theres too much intermarriages going on um ah those kind of things if if it happened ah even twenty years ago then we may have rescued that but i think its too late now its ah we need to be bilingual now () well they want () that's right they want to switch the whole thing round the other way and ah and i i was a bit divided about that mind you i got crucified on it but however i couldn't care less because ah you know those those were my views that its too late now to rescue the language in that sense ah and and turn it up the other way and say well this is new zealand's number one language i was a bit divided so i told them that i said ah ok its fine make it as part of like german french right () oh yeah yeah well have the say well yes ah ah not as far as the language is concerned as far as culture is concerned that'll bring the language that'll bring status to the language like language maori language itself is you got no status at all you realise that eh well if a a if you teach if you yeah like university at the moment right ah ah ah ah ah ah now teaching maori language but its teaching it with no status with no maori status actually () begins actually get within within maori () oh yes but nothing for the maori () ok unless culture or or or its or or cultures blended in to it right and then it becomes and has mana at the moment ah the maori languages in in schools the maori languages in in university got no mana at all as a language ok ah and that's how i see it that's just my opinion ok because i notice that when when um when people are are like competitions will tell you is a classic example young kids learning the reo ah then they go up front then they speak this maori language in front of the old people and they say oh beautiful right what happens when they leave when when they go outside that arena so we act it () straight back to english so we lost that mana and that's the mana i'm talking about its the theres no mana within the language itself unless it has some kinds culture but i don't mean singing alright you get what i mean i'm not mean singing that's only a little bit of ah all culture its a whole spectrum of () that's right

FMT1

um i think that maori should be compulsory throughout all schools all every sorts of schools even um eng ah um pakeha schools um i think it i think um that parents should be involved as well and that um they should encourage their children in um and helping them to develop their maori and to um just be there and support them and um i think that um that maori will help them to do well in all their other academic um subjects and i think that um that being um that the maori students and other other ethnic groups will um will will understand the maori ways and will not feel um feel i don't know um () yeah whakama when they have to do things maori or if they're on a marae or anything and um and i think that'll help a lot of other groups and yeah and um i think it'll put a lot of maori people into perspective of their life and um just help them out a lot probably keep them outa trouble a lot more um yeah that's practically about it () mm () yeah () like i think they um even we even maoris and even that we should um learn other cultures as well as well as our own yeah () yeah () um yeah it's alright () yeah () um well right now oh we've been training for touch and yeah just mainly just go to town just hang out in town yeah () on saturdays um () yeah whenever i feel like getting up () um () um for the juniors to go to assembly () um this period starts at oh i mean finish's at half past () yeah () an ideal weekend um probably going out friday night um going out just going to clubs coming home late um then probably sleep in on saturdays on saturday go out saturday night () again and um and just do the same and just sleep in on sunday () oh sometimes i do but yeah as long as i keep out of trouble

FMT2

() um i want to go to polytech and i want to be a photographer () no () um we can't do it till we're sixth form so i have to wait till next year () yep () um no cause i wanna finish sixth form and then when i get to seventh form i'm gunna inquire about it () yeah () um i don't know because like other people like if they a different nationality or like french or something they might want to take their own language but in the third form i think so cause then it gets a chance to see if you like it and then you can learn more about it if you like it () um since third form () um yeah () oh yeah i can't speak very well but i've learnt more than what i knew before i came () um sometimes if they don't talk real fast i can () um sometimes but i like watching the soaps though () yep () i love it () um just i like watching sam's brother he's a yeah yeah just the gangs and that and they're trying to stop it () um i don't know i like staying home watching t v with a friend i don't really like going out that much or otherwise just going to my boyfriend's house and just watching t v or something i don't like going out much () yep sometimes or i take my sister and my nephew out () um she's nearly four--

um about a month ago now there was a league tournament for the under nineteens at burnham army camp and um my brother was in the canterbury team and he made the new zealand under nineteen team and last week they went to auckland for three days and now they're in england and france and they're playing great britain over there and he hopes to get selected by a league um supervisor or whatever they are so that he could play professional league and he's already been in the under fifteen new zealand league team before and he just wants to um hopefully to play professional league over there and that's what he wants to do for his life he's been in the canterbury team every year since he's been eight and he's now nineteen and he just loves it and i like watching him supporting him ()

FMT3

and that's about it () as a subject? well not really necessarily i reckon if it's like if it's their choice yeah if it's if its the students choice i reckon but not necessarily unless they want the language to be in the schools that's my answer really cause i'm actually glad that we've got the bilingual unit here it's really good it's helped me a lot anyway with my maori and not only taught me it's taught the teachers how the students react to it and everything it's really neat but in other words if the students want um the actual subject in the school it's up to them () no because oh if like wait on what can i use as an example? um like there are jobs out there for you know maori lawyers and the actual teaching of the reo but um there aren't really all that much actual () yeah it's just really to me it's just to keep the language alive in new zealand cause they say that the maori language is a dying language and since i've been um since i've been in the south island cause i'm originally from north island that's what they've been teaching me and up north i was oh yeah i was taught te reo maori in um in my junior years of school but when i grew up here i learned to respect it and i learnt all the protocols and everything and that's what they wanting us to really learn is the protocols the mana the actual pronunciation and everything but () yeah () yeah i understand that cause that's what's i'm actually doing now is i'm learning about my own culture and we've got we've got different races in our class we've got we've got pakeha we've got maori we've got rarotongan we've got samoan and we've got a bulgarian as well () yeah and um well they're actually into the class to learn what our culture is and compare it with their culture and its really quite an experience for them () hmm cause our language is rather similar to the samoan language and the rarotongan as well () well at first i'm joining the army () yeah i'm gunna join the army and i'm thinking about going into the police force and if i don't do that i might i'll just might think about something else afterwards but i'm just but i'm definitely joining the army anyway () um i was thinking about um chefs but then i'm not really all that good at cooking but i like cooking but i've just got to learn to do it bit better

FMT4

um yeah oh i don't know yeah i think it should but i never took it () not at all () i don't know cause i cause i didn't go in the whanau and then like i was getting bummed out from everyone in there and so () yeah i went a few times like um i wasn't sposed to but i trying to skip my other class and went but it wasn't all that good everyone was just sitting around doing nothing so () no () yeah oh no it was just in the elective that you can take yeah () um not so much ignorance from pakeha perhaps and um a better understanding () um oh people complaining no one wants to take it some people might not want their children to speak maori sort of learn about the culture or anything () yep () oh for ages since i was eight () no () oh yeah its pretty cool () um i don't play any like in a team but i like touch and squash weights sometimes () um no i hate swimming i hate swimming at a pool but i like swimming at the beach and at rivers cause pools are shame () yeah () yeah () yeah i've got a dog and a and a fish () oh its a staffy its real tough no its not its real little real weak but its quite cool () yeah but not this this is yeah () ah its a axolotl it eats worms () yeah () yeah yeah its names ziggy () angus () yeah () um its ugly its () no its brindle that's like all every colour put together yeah its quite quite ugly really () ah i don't know at all i did used to wanna do um broadcasting course at polytech but that's really difficult to get into and i've kinda starting to lose interest in it but i don't know oh anything () i really i used to really want to in like fifth form or fourth form but now its kind of changed its kind of just be keen to just leave school for good kinda you know () oh after you've done school cert its just like i don't know different () yeah () yeah that'd be cool () oh i don't know really () accidents um no () oh oh actually ah oh i think it sucks eh i've seen heaps of my friends just um shut up get into um cars and that and you know we always tell them off () yeah or or like friends get into cars with people who they know've been drinking and um yeah but you don't think about it when you're drunk you know () yeah

FMT5

() um i don't know it's then there's like going out with my mates and playing league playing sports () better get off that subject yeah i like going out with with my mates having um drinking going to discos um night clubs and all that () we all do () not when i'm dressed up () um () yeah () oh yeah yeah i li i like league i like anything that's rough () um oh i play sometimes i play um play in the backs um playing league or go in second row it's sort of a hard game but it's quite its fun it's um () now? is she coming here now?

what am i supposed to be talking about? () mm well that's an easy subject um when i was a child i want to um oh had a lot of toys mainly guns and trucks and all that and i wanted to be um i was running around the house with like a um you know like little rambos and i was into ninja and all the army stuff and my when i leave school next year i wanna go into the army and um () yeah um three brother oh hang on four brothers three little oh two little ones and two big older ones and i got heaps of sisters yeah well altogether there's ten of us () oh i'm the third oldest and um oh i don't stay with my real father or any of or my step father i stay with my mother and um oh and sometimes it's hard because i haven't got a fathers point of view sort of thing yeah and mum mum's one of these people that like to drink she's a real alcoholic sort of thing () and i think i'm starting to pick it up () and um () yeah well i've been drinking since practically when i was born mum used to give me beer when i was a baby () well considering i liked it anyway () its nice

yeah well um i don't get along with my little brother or my little sister um that's the third ah the fourth and the fifth oldest one yeah yeah down from me i don't get along with them at all probably because we got we get treated differently when they're home and um

yeah well i'm the only oldest one that stays at home now there's only three three three of us kids that stay at home with mum and um () yeah but um oh considering those two got different fathers to me and um and they those two are the the one and only you know the little treasures that mum thinks that they are and all that shit and um and i don't know i'm just i'm just just a like practically like

FMT6

-cause all the maoris are always knocking people for not pronouncing things properly and that and speaking it so it knocks them back so they're too scared to speak it

-half them don't know it themselves

-yeah they knock you for you know and even if you do korero real good

-they knock you it's really it's bad in some aspects

-but anywhere else it doesn't stop us

-so you just don't you don't just don't say nothing to no one cause

oh but unless like i used to go i walk up to her and i whisper my question in her ear

-just so that it has to be a maori song

-although i reckon we've lost in some aspects

-yeah we're white you know or we go come on come into our class yeah yeah yeah you can and oh

no and they won't cause i'm white and i go white doesn't matter because

-or we're or we're white but then i that's when you turn around go well look at some of us were not all dark

-we've got white faces too

-but through us mixing in the main stream they've you know they () yeah because we we just take them down there whether they say no or yes or you know

-it's like segregation

-but they mix more now

-like there was a story for this um she was maori but she she was asked to do a story on the whanau and it got handed to me because she didn't want to do it she didn't want to go down there and interview whanau students or anything like that so i took it on my own hands but really i felt like she should have

FMT7

-that's like a lot of people in the whanau eh?

-thats why a lot of us don't you know oh well like we korero to each other but like if it's just us or something like that but only because

-yeah cause like like only if they are you know they go ooh trying to be miss maori or something like that it's really

-it's really sad i reckon that's pretty sad

-and like you know like when we have like some some periods ... will say korero maori anake and then everyone just sits there quiet eh?

-it's really sad

-because if you um cause you if if sh you know when she says korero maori anake and then someone will korero pakeha she'll um make you stand up and sing a song in front of everyone you know just

-yeah just to make you know just to thing but so everyone yeah but then otherwise everyone will just sit there quiet and you know

-yeah i reckon it's pretty good

-you learn a lot

-yeah like some teachers say to us oh some teachers say to us oh yous spend spend far too much time going to do powhiris or something like that () yeah that's what we try to say to them and and

like some kids like i've a i have a main stream class doing journalism and um i go down there right and like like i've got friends in there but they're pakeha and like i'll go oh like they're going down that they need to go that way home and they'll go that way but i go oh come down this way and she goes oh no i can't because i'm a pakeha they think they can't go down that end of the school and i go but we always stick up this end of the school eh? why can't yous go down there? and they go oh no cause we're we've got white faces or something like that

-and like sometimes we have times in there like if you bring your own tea bags and all that you're allowed to go in there and have a cup of tea and we go oh come in for a cup of tea and they go oh no we can't go in there you know we're pakehas

-it's like they need to go out that way they live that way home and they go all the way out round there

-or or they cut off or they cut off down the end of the field there's a little hole down there

-and they feel real shy and they don't talk or anything like that

-but some of it's our fault it is but some of it's their fault like some of those teachers say um to cause like we have meetings and we all wanted to have a meeting with them to to try and stop all that and some teachers go oh um we can't have your students in our class cause they misbehave a lot and all that but as if like their kids don't misbehave you know and like eh in our maths class in our maths class eh we all sit on that side and they sit on that side () i know they don't come and sit with us and it's really sad a it's really sad actually

-yeah i know

-yeah and and some people um and like so sometimes we don't go to maths you know

-yeah we sit on that side and they sit on that side () the teacher says

-and the teachers say um oh you people you you know you people do that and you people do that
instead of like everyone turn to this page you know i don't i don't i find that quite sad actually

FMT8

i think it should be compulsory cause its ah official language of new zealand people should know a bit about the language () um i'm not too sure () um oh the younger generation will know yeah more than the older generation but the older generation should learn a bit more just so they understand () um no they dead () um dog a pomeranian and cats but they died running across the road () no

...

-not the big tall

-he liked the he liked the one cause he kept going oh shit she's nice i go what one he goes one with ... but salina asked him and i think the big one likes him

-fifteen

-three years isn't very much

-no she hasn't got a tangi

[...]

-she's got no tangi [...] because he wants um ... cause she's ah got a bit of a tangi laugh if it could hear you eating

[...]

-laugh if it could hear you eating eh

-um yep

-um do i just repeat this? () um because its a official language of new zealand () yeah um yeah think so () um they're dead they died () oh for school i just play touch and netball and just for um

FMT9

-i'm not really sure i didn't really realise that it wasn't compulsory oh no as long as its an option i reckon () yeah but i didn't really click about um english being compulsory () yeah i don't know how () i don't know whether we shouldn't have to do it or what () so we don't know how to speak maori so we'd lose the language () no () um hawkes bay both of them from wairoa um my mum used to speak maori when she was young to her grandmother but then when they moved to the city um it wasn't allowed and my mum went to um high school they weren't allowed to and they got told off at school and that and then um my nana um encouraged the kids not to speak it because it wouldn't do any good so they just lost it my mum sort of has a feeling that she but she can't remember much words () she remembers you know um the um what's it called? the protocol and like how to speak she just you know knows tangis and she knows all that sorta stuff () um ngati kahungunu () both

-and my dad hes got a pakeha mum and i'm not sure but i haven't really asked him but um they didn't really talk much about the maori side i don't think cause he lived with her the rest of his life and his dad must have left her or something or died and he was the maori one so she didn't know anything and dad didn't really know anything () yeah so she just teach him the pakeha way

i don't i don't i only have watch my favourite programmes () oh um was melrose place um shortland street sometimes but that's getting a bit boring and i used to watch the news a lot but that was when my nan was down cause we had to () but now i don't i like it but i forget about it no they had to watch it if we're watching something else they had change the channel

-make you full on bi-lingual or try

-in new zealand

-when i went when i was in um primary and intermediate we had on fridays we had a set thing to do french and when you've got past the read the third book you got onto latin and that you had to do it sort of () yeah it wasn't a option we didn't have options () st michael's () oh this is about standard three four so in standard three you'd start with french sort of or you move onto another book that

MMT1

did ... come here? () yeah oh no cause i thought she woulda gone to um cause they got this meeting on in about teacher's college or something () oh yeah () nup no our teacher's gone cause ah we just goin in there's only about five left in our class () yeah cause um her son ah gone to the hospital something he got a um injury must be during lunch time yeah playing rugby () no he's only twelve years old () ah ... () so yeah there's they're not doing any work they're just sitting there () yeah () ah statistics () yeah () oh yeah its ok cept oh miss oh i think i clipped onto um ... way of teaching better though but i can still yeah understand her () yeah () yeah just takes a little a little longer but you still get it yeah i can still get it () just got our results back and i failed yeah forty three percent yeah () um no oh not really i just read over quick read over my notes and that was it yeah cause i had ah first day i had oh that was the first one up that's right yeah and then i had another i had another um exam straight after that and then the what another one the next morning () so had to () yeah () no () so yeah just didn't didn't worry about it too much () ah yeah if i start working now yeah i should yeah get it easy () ah hope so yeah i picked all my grades up last year () yeah so i passed i passed all a them except for music yeah that's only cause i didn't do any performance we had to perform in front of people and that () oh bit of the keyboard and guitar and that yeah cause teacher kept on urging me to play in front of ah at concerts and all that but i was a bit too shy cause yeah cause i was top of the class in ah theory and all that in writing yeah well got seventy eight percent for the written and all that () um oh no cause um we had we had ah periods where we could just practice and that and thing and then oh yeah we had bands in our class had groups () yeah () oh no um oh we had groups inside our class so when we had our test during class time that wasn't included though we had to get a band outside of like extra curricula () yeah () oh all sorts really yeah i thought like but i felt a bit strange cause i thought i was the only one that liked you know all sorts of music then when we went out on a basketball tournament last oh may they had heap theres a lot of people that like you all sorts so's yeah quite happy () yeah even some of those some of those yeah () yeah () yeah oh we had to play some ah vivaldi vivaldi yeah four seasons () we had to learn it on keyboard that was fifth form or something () yeah yeah i got it and we sort of ah had about five cause there was five um parts to it and like we all played a different bit on the keyboard so's yeah quite fun () oh well try to ah get some songs but i can't i can't click on songs yeah ... he can just listen to the radio and

MMT2

() yeah oh its easier cause then i had something to talk about () oh yeah i play softball for parklands cause ive always played softball oh since i was little cause when i was little my dad put me into a um ball team and when i got into um primary school i was only bout standard three and i was playing for form two i was playing for a big team i mean felt good now i join softball teams yeah () oh i'm pitcher () yeah () yeah () yeah my dad plays softball as well he's a pitcher as well so he helps me () um i don't know oh kinda like um i'm going on this army course um my sisters boyfriend takes it and all these um people that are unemployed and stuff that want to get a job they go on it and when they leave that course after sixteen or six weeks they get to go on this um oh on whatever job they want cause my friend he went on it and when he got out of that he's working just over then eh um yardleys that place cause they rung him cause they saw him on the news when um they're interviewing him () yeah they put it on for um unemployed and stuff () and people that've got () yeah and i'm going on that in coupla more years cause they having another one they got one on now and my cousin's in that () he reckons its pretty choice () um oh i don't know yet () pardon? () oh yeah we've got a coupla dogs they're rottweilers eh () they're good trained though () yeah () oh they're one's mine and one's my mums () yep oh my dads oh we've always had dogs () rottweilers rottweilers () oh um ones boss and the other ones chubby cause ones kinda chubby () mm () a lot of when ooh i mean um um people we don't know come in they just bark at them but when they come in when we walk outside they just kinda you know real kind to them () they're ok when we're around them and strangers come in but when we're not there they kinda () yeah () mm () oh yeah i like school but sometimes i get bored its just all the bookwork i'm not used to it () no oh in maths and history and english i'm alright but oh and maori its just science and stuff i'm ??? science () yep oh i never took it this year () yeah oh um yeah i'm ok ive learned heaps since ive been here though () yep oh my mum does my dads kinda learning as well off us () oh she only oh now and again when she was little oh the whole family knows though how to speak () ngati porou () yeah () oh ngati porou's my dad and ngai tahus mum oh ngati porou's my mum and ngai tahus my dad () yeah () no () um um two sisters me and mum and dad but we've adopted another little baby and oh two more babies () ones eighteen months oh no eight months and she's a girl oh we call her ... but she's kinda like the queen of the

MMT3

oh yeah oh on saturday um after our game we went to the club rooms cause we had to um do this waitering thing and um like got paid and stuff like that but we had give um just get drinks and that for everyone and () oh no this was just a do a do thing cost about a hundred dollars for someone to get in i think () it was just um i don't know just a free alcohol and all that stuff just a do yeah and so we got um free alcohol as well good got tips and stuff like that yeah () yeah and plus we got um three hundred dollars for our team for our for our ah end of the year party and stuff like that and um so () yep and after that we just went out stuff like that and ah () papanui () so () oh who else who else was that? () oh did he do this too? () yeah oh yeah and um after that just went went out into town and just mucked around () oh we just went up to daniels seeing seeing ali and all that () yeah () oh they just let you in (...) something yeah i think ... went there a few times i'm not sure () yeah stuff like that and after that we went to this party at ... house yeah and oh that was alright just mucked around for few hours there and had to go home because the next day we had a league game ah was canterbury seventeens versus papanui nineteens and the canterbury seventeens won but it was pretty close game cause um pretty even even sides stuff like that () yeah cause like ... played for canterbury team and and he could and hes about the same size as nineteens so that and um oh oh yeah and um my other interest is music cause um on mondays i just this teacher come in show me some stuff and i don't know might want to be a musician later on in my life and um so like playing the drums or the guitar yeah and um just show me a few songs stuff like that () yeah and ... () yeah stuff () yep so i have ah ... on mondays and ... on thursdays and um i usually get ... and ... to come in cause ... likes singing stuff like that so he just sings while i just play a instrument and plus he got a um a singing scholarship ... did um eh? () oh he just he gets um just free lessons somewhere a studio i don't know yeah and () oh no not really () hm oh i don't know () yeah () and think um ah plus ive got a cat called poppy but my sister called it that when she was little i don't know why she called it that () poppy? () oh yeah yeah and we had a cat before that was called gizmo cause i i watched that gizmo programme and i called it gizmo and then but that ones sort of dead () oh it was no it was pretty old but um my dad he put this um um weed killer stuff on the on the weeds and you know how cats just licklick the grass and that () well he musta did that and got poisoned () and so we got another cat and this ones alright () black and white and its pretty big just feed it heaps yep heaps and um () ah no

MMT4

are you dubbing now? () oh um () yeah () yeah but um i'm not really interested in that i'm just play volleyball () and um going alright couple () only for about three years () don't you? () oh it can be a beach volleyball or outside or inside its mostly inside () in the gym yeah yes just hit the ball over the net () oh na oh there is in some ways but yeah () yep yeah six players allowed on the court you're allowed three hits so if you can set it up high you just smash straight down to the ground () yeah so if you have three hits goes over their side and they have three hits comes back you still have another three hits yeah its good game () nup () oh just around just with my mates just not you know not professional no () no just nice just just right () oh yeah () oh don't know just walk in eh () no () yeah daniel's no i don't go there () true () i just go to town anyway and if i want to go just go cause i go to town every friday and saturdays so () just hang around with my mates () yep i know a few () oh no oh yeah just one of them he's alright () probably go to i don't know i wanna join the army yeah or navy () i want to be a signwriter but theres all the computers are doing it for them now eh sad () yeah () no not really () yeah that's right travel around the world () pets () yep () got twin cats () yeah but they are not they don't look the same though but () oh ones black and white and ones grey () grey () no () sox and nicky unusual names () oh mum we had a dog but um someone pinched it () a rottweiler () i'll say () it was only about eight months old () it was quite big though () ate a lot though () they can just eat and eat and eat () yeah () yes i wouldn't mess around with them () yeah true () oh um its alright yeah () yeah () probably um art and geography maths and english i don't like doing my best there () don't like them but () um my little brother () he was in a car accident and um my dad died and yet he didn't even have a scratch on him but still () oh the car rolled over there was oh there was some kind of rock and it just made it roll over () it was only about a couple of months ago actually () yeah but he lives up in gisborne so we might be going shifting up there he's up in gisborne now cause that's his home town anyway () his hometown () his family live yeah sposed to go up christmas () yep she works yaldhurst hotel cooks () yeah she should () ??? ()

MMT5

just if you feel like learning maori then spose its up to you so if you want to learn the language then spose its you own opinion () oh for maori students for pakeha i spose its up to them they want to learn it might as well spose its just another language to learn so like if they want to do like ah you're doing studying on maori () yeah its good sort of help them out oh yeah i know few people in the in the whanau class at aranui yeah () yeah () we get along quite well () oh oh cause i used to um my friend used to like by my house but he shifted over there started going to school over there so he's sort of met them all through him () in town yeah ah um their class is more educated than us see last year they already done their school cert maori so this year they're going for sixth form () so they're ahead of us () oh not really cause its quite hard to learn learn the language cause you have to be sort of brought up with it () i reckon be bit easier yeah () yeah cause my my nana likes me learning it too cause shes fluent () no shes in whakatane where my father's from () yeah so she wants me to sort of like she likes me talking to her on the phone in maori yeah () um i might follow my father he's a prison warden at paparua prison () yeah i'm i'm not sure though he wants me to join the army yeah i i don't know be a bit hard () be a bit hard i spose bit tough () oh um i was thinking about it ive been going to the lectures here () yeah talking 'bout ah paying for it and all that and what's it about () yeah oh league oh we've got a pretty good team this year we came ah second yeah we lost to this other team eastern we bet them in the semi finals but then they bet us again i wasn't actually here in the finals cause ah karaitiana yeah his father passed away and we were up north () yep just me and him () karaitiana its ah christian () oh yeah its spose its something to do and i get enjoyment out of it () papanui yeah () not really we sort of wasted them but () yeah () theres only just really just two teams three teams in the competition () yeah () and linwood () i used to play in i think i played for addington last year it wasn't any good so i changed back

MMT6

() cause if um people who don't want to take maori they shouldn't have to they might not like the language () um they shouldn't have to take that either if they don't want to but most people do take it just for get a better /e/ get a better education () oh um not really but people who wanna um learn maori language they um should if they want to um like if they go to maori course they should take it just yeah () oh i think that um they're alright and get to meet lot a people and go to quite a lot of trips yeah just makes ya don't be ashamed of yourself () yeah () like () yeah it yep () oh theres about um theres one bulgarian in there () and theres about theres one pakeha and most of us are half castes () yeah () yeah and rarotongans half both that () yeah () oh oh we were the first to start um the bilingual class and that was in their third form started in third form () yeah () oh i'm not really sure yet cause i just don't know what to do so many jobs around quite hard to get () yeah () oh yes oh no not really no () i'll probably see how much um exams i pass yeah () um its english so far yeah and yeah geography and maori () oh not in full sentences i'm not fluent yet but i can still say a few sentences () oh sometimes but not all the time cause its quite they're quite fluent and i don't know what they're saying only pick up a few words () yeah () yeah yeah () um i just go looking round for stuff really () like looking for jobs in like part time jobs like at the supermarket its just to get a few some money for the um weekends () oh sometimes but i mainly go out on saturday yeah () oh just go sometimes go to the movies yeah and yeah some other stuff () um um i just going why? what do you mean by that? () oh yeah () um i'd like go i like going camping so i'd like to go somewhere like um kaiteri up up there that would be pretty choice () no just been to picton and all that and up north yeah () yeah some of our mates are thinking of going um there for um new year's eve () yeah () oh they're same age as me () oh they got their licence yeah () yeah () um when i first started playing rugby league um i couldn't really didn't know hot the um how to play um do anything at all and this old man come up to me and he started teaching me how to um tackle pass the ball and play the ball that's and then um i just started stayed with him for few weeks just every every night after school and he teach me everything how to play it and then i then i um started playing for the eight year olds and um i wasn't i was too shy to get the ball and run the ball and then next week i just started going with the plan game plan and then um then next year on i played for halswell again and um i got um picked for the canterbury team and we played um the countryside yeah and then that was alright then () oh that's

MMT7

ah in third form you wouldn't really think it should be compulsory but if they don't want to take it it shouldn't be compulsory () yeah () yeah so they've got a bit of it understanding so they knows what some of its about () yeah and um protocol and things maori um in the maraes so if they like visit a marae they'll know what to do cause some people don't and that's harder for them to understand () oh think they're great () yeah yeah i know a few people in the class they learn a lot more than we do though () yeah () oh you don't don't swap um people in the class the people they don't they're still the same and they get along better cause then they're with them all day every day and you get along better and you know what to well you sorta know what to do () yeah yeah that's right () oh not really () no they haven't () oh i don't know um i thought about going into the army for a while didn't really think about it much () oh probably all the hard work that you have to do when you first get in there () yeah () oh yeah i do a bit of cycling () oh ive cycled from hamner springs to here before me and (...) he used to be in our class last year and cause we split up but oh the bilingual cause we're not a bilingual class anymore () and um we had a break up in the holidays um and we went up to hamner springs and some of us wanted to bike back so we biked back and that's when i sort of started getting into it and ive do you know where gabby's pass is? () yeah ive done that before that was um just about biked all the things you can do on this side of the port hills but i haven't been around the other side () yeah no cycle actual cycling mountain biking's harder cause they're bigger wheels () no the summit road go on the summit road not on the dirt tracks () yeah keeps me fit don't have to really do anything else just that usually do it once a week () yeah cause its hard and we () oh usually oh um just bike up the main road that goes up to the sign of the kiwi and i usually just do that or bike up um up the to the sign of the kiwi and then go down one of the sides go down to sumner or something like that that's quite good because () yeah () its quite good () oh its not when you get used to it () i don't really know () oh theres theres ah we've we got ive got five in my family but my dad's died when i was about he died when i was ten and um my brother older brother he's moved out out of home two years ago and so its only me and my mother and my little brother () yeah () oh yeah he had a heart attack he died cause he had too much cholesterol and () oh he was thirty five and too much smoking as well smoked and ate heaps of salt () no no i don't () oh i didn't really cause my i didn't find out till two weeks after cause oh my mum was on the course at queen

MMT8

well i can tell you that um i went nightclubbing at over at limbos () um i don't know it was my first time there just went there don't know see i just lost my job oh i lost my job at marshall's factory and you know um few of my friends um took me out to um to a game of pool um to town and so we just after that we just went to the limbos and stayed there till round about twelve and then we went to the ministry and we just left there round about one thirty yeah round about one thirty just went got home ah went to sleep got up round about quarter to eleven yeah () saturday night () yeah () no () yeah yeah um () oh well i went quite often while i was over in australia () yeah () oh yes kind of i went for job interview um had five job interviews two as a bouncer at a night club and three working at a cinema yeah i didn't get through because you have to be over twenty one for them so () um i went to see my sister and sister's boyfriend yeah () yeah () um well some place in um town near echo records yeah we just went up there had a game of pool and um played around about from eight till round about ten yeah yeah yeah yeah () um i just go out back yard um get out my punching bag i get my friend andre around do some karate we have um sparring fights and that so we get used to it used to the hitting and everything and um we just we just went over back over to his house and we just um started building a hut started building a hut you know putting into putting in like all japanese things and everything () yeah like a shed () um cups and we just we just kinda like its kinda like gunna be a wee mini gym for us yeah () yeah we're building it () yeah () um got andre's dad andre's dad and a couple of neighbours helping us as well yeah but we're mostly doing the work () yeah () ah we started round about two weeks ago yeah so itll be quite a long way off yeah so should i reckon it should be finished around about christmas christmas november yes () yeah itll be big um yeah its quite bigger than this yes it is () um oh we used to um before i was born my we had um a sheep um we had a cat called smokey very dangerous cat () yes yes () yes and cat called smokey and um we had two horses trixie and dianne cheyenne should i say and um we and i had a dog called typo yeah

PĀKEHĀ

FPA1

ah oh well it ah brought a great deal of sadness i e loss of close members of the family you know did not come home and ah also financially we were affected owing to the um to the fact that we were rationed off oh you know of um essential foods and pleasures etc () it was sufficient for the family ah food () ah the basics () sugar and bread and flour ah butter of all dairy products ah and um ah motor fuels you know () they were needed for the war effort and ah food of course was ah rationed because we didn't have the manpower to to produce it hm () just like we do today similar () you just do without or make do or improvise swap () yes () yes () you made the ah many friends that way because you could give them what the surplus to your family and and they did the same () yes yes it was quite quite ah peaceful cause we were away from it all but very worrying as well of course the the boys overseas you know yeah () uncle don yes () yeah always say the best of the family always seem to be taken () oh um well personally i i was you know not a not a i didn't fit in socially ah to a big extent having even then a a a family to look after you know my husband in business ah there you know there was ah my time away from home was ah limited because of that you know those reasons () plenty of telephone conversations you know () ah no we're no we seemed to be um oh seem to be the only ones in that respect of of very close friends i spose being an elder an older couple what's more by the time you know the ah or just having one eligible ah for call up you know for duties ah we centred all our attention on him but ah if course we knew boys who were overseas but were didn't really know one that lost anybody else except except my son brother in law () yes () yes we had plenty to do um at home you know practicing to ward off the enemy if they dared to land on our shores and lots of rumours there weresomebody was always finding a a lurking submarine () we've talked about rationing and how say would it affect amusements and ah commerce ah and um sport they're all yeah so you can ask me any of those () oh well we um the pictures were always cinema if you like always available and we you know we when we could afford the time we'd go along family would go along and we had ah community efforts there was um oh what were they called? oh sort of sing a longs you know that ah in the town hall and they were great fun () yes i forget who ran that now was ah the um father of an old friend of mine joe brown his name was and he organised all this for um for um you know () for morale yeah and we and and you know there were always special

FPA2

well we had that trip to australia you know that was recently and it was marvellous all told but um we found that being with relations rather prevented us from going to the places we'd like to see we we would we we'd they went with us for some of to some of the places but um well we would have liked to say go round and look at various things that () yes but we didn't have time but the relations were marvellous to us so we just stayed with them () it was only ten days so it wasn't quite enough to cover it all () well we went to sydney first and we stayed in um a place called eastwood with a a niece and her husband and two little boys and that was good and jack and i were both a bit nervous about the trains and everything else () i don't know why because we hadn't been on anything for a long while so we went to central station from eastwood and met my sister there shed come from tharall which is south and we we found that all right and ah the three of us my sister and jack and i went down to up rather to a place called um forster and ah we stayed at a motel there but that was the the freeest time we had because we ah we went places we wanted to there we went on what they call the great lakes they're not very great but they're they're interesting () but what interested me most were the pelicans pelicans for miles and ive got photos galore of them i don't know why i took so many photos but pelicans () and um oh then we had we had quite a good we met my sisters daughter lived up that way so we all met together and had a meal lovely meal at a club and i met the children and the children were delightful and that was that was great and then we um after that we went back down to tharall down through sydney to tharall went by bus they're all such long ways but i'm starting to get used to this but i tell you this i got tired () the heat and and walking and everything so but anyhow we got back to tharall and um my brother-in-law was there and we um we were having a really happy time and then somehow things got strained because um my brother rang and he said aren't you coming to see us in molly mollynook in wally walladalla and i said we are but i don't know how were going to fit it all in so he got a little bit huffy and and the there were seemed to be feelings around some undercurrents and i hate that but um () i think it was it was between my sister my brother and my brother-in-law because they that that my brother-in-law kept saying they've got to stay here because i'm taking them to such and such a place to see the tulips that are somewhere and and were going to the club er theres a big club there real gambling place and ah anyhow they worked it out that my brother and his wife a new wife and lovely person

FPA3

oh didn't um my parents were living on a farm in ngaroma which is out of te awamutu my mother had gone there to have so we were there until we were about six weeks old () well in ngaroma until i was eighteen months old and then in awakuni () um till i was till i got married really and twenty i was there () itll be in christchurch now () um oh how long have we been married thirty seven um bout thirty three years yeah () from christchurch ive thought about it but i cause i'd quite like to live up in the north island or not now but wouldve liked to have cause thats where my family my family of origin is () hm hm yep () wouldn't imagine so the only thing that would take me back is if um my children went and lived up there and allan died then i think i would probably more than likely i think i would move up there yeah () yeah if all my family were up there but that would be the only thing ... cause my friends are all here () here we are () no i don't i don't think it should be compulsory um and my reasons for that are that i think if you make a foreign language compulsory you um you might defeat the purpose by getting peoples backs up about it i think it something people should want to learn um that would be my primary reason ah () well i think english is a um is the whether we like it or not and i quite like it cause its my language english is the um most spoken language and i think not to learn that would leave somebody um er at a great disadvantage really hm () well i wrote them down here and the first one i wrote was family because i think that that is true that that is my primary interest particularly as my children grow up and become even more interesting in a way um so family and then my second interest would be work because i find it very interesting um and then theres things like pottery and gardening and knitting and or friends of course friends is high on the list it acutally should be higher than i wrote it it should come after family and work i think cause friends sustain all that hm () hm () hm () hm well i put it down on the written thing but actually as i wrote it i thought oh gosh i wished i d sort of put this earlier because thats you know they are sustaining of work and family really yeah if work gets me down if and familys not available or family gets me down its to friends i go hm () yes at times hm i think work gives me something like the family the the feelings and thinking can become somewhat intense at times and i think work gives me even though my work is intense it gives me a break from the what i think is a greater intensity of family and emotional stuff () yes () yes it is but its still not as intense as family emotions theres no way things can touch me in the same way as family can hm () hm () oh yes () yeah ah don't know that i'd call it

FPA4

in dunedin () approximately twenty years () three () my father my parents and my well thats if you include me me my family my parents and my grandparents () no two grandparents the other two grandparents lived in the north island or in christchurch () come up about nineteen fifty eight i think and then went back to dunedin in nineteen sixty come back nineteen sixty one ive lived here since () mmhm () um my husbands extended family are all here and ive thought it important for our children to grow up round family so um thats been the final decider () um being new zealand based i suppose i'm very interested in the um relationship between maori and pakeha and um better understanding of the treaty of waitangi and how it affects us in this country personal interests that is a personal interest maori language reading um gardening animals walking () yes family is an interest yeah () i think it comes basically out of um well mainly from people i was going to say spirituality but only as i experience that in others so from um for friends who have um a spiritual base ah from my family and their spiritual base also () well i can get away from the family in the house um and or i go go down to the garden ive got a big garden but i also have a um reasonable agreement with my family that if i retreat to my bedroom that thats respected as time out for me ah otherwise ah we have a um batch at birdlings flat and occasionally ill go out and stay there () yeah i think it should be compulsory as a subject yes but and i qualify that by saying that ah i think some understanding of of of maori including aspects of language should be compulsory i'm not sure that i'm not sure that were at the stage where being forced to learn the language is going to achieve um the type of promise that the treaty offers um but i think learning the language is an essential dimension of understanding things maori um but i would rather firstly see an education on i guess what i call things maori () but not just for yeah not just focussed on on um what that narrow thing of culture which is about being in a culture club and learning songs and haka as though thats maori culture () yeah ah proper history a proper new zealand history i would like to see compulsory an honest new zealand history and i'd say thats step one step one that were honest about our own history and you know how thats affected the people in this land maori and pakeha and um and that that should be compulsory ah and inside of that yes aspects of the culture which would include understanding of phrases and () hm yep things like that () an ideal weekend would be just to get um for saturday to be spent in just a bit of tidying up round the house ah getting the shopping done my husband and i going off to do the shopping

FPA5

um can't remember where it was the place is closed now any rate () ah yeah i was born in a hospital
 yeah () um just round lin inwood i'm just trying to think where where it was where all the unmarried
 mothers went yeah () itll come to me yeah i can't think now either () to live or () not to live no always
 lived in christchurch always lived on the east side of christchurch () um um my um adoptive family
 were um christchurch people born and bred um and i think their their family before them were as well
 but at some point they were um i know my great my fathers grandmother came they came from
 australia because she used to say that um that as as a child coming from australia she nearly fell out
 the porthole of the ship so if you know shed fallen out the porthole of the ship then you know none of
 them would have been sort of thing you know sort of like one of these family stories so yeah so that
 was his grandmother but a lot of them were missionaries in australia came from australia but
 originally from the uk yeah yeah () yeah they are yeah adoptive parents yeah yeah () um um yeah
 its hard um i guess i don't really identify with any of them now you know i sort of don't i don't have a
 sense of family in the past yeah although i'd be very loyal to like my father my adoptive father but i
 don't actually feel any attachment to my birth mother really but if i'm talking in terms of family then i
 feel ah i was going to say ambivalent but thats not quite the right word its like i don't like i don't
 belong anywhere () um i i just guess its the the nature of having been adopted i just don't have a
 sense of where i belong yeah () hm () um i i guess i always wanted to know who my birth parents
 were you know like i always had a sense that oh when when anything went wrong in my life then i
 would think that things could have been better or would have better or i would have had a better life
 or yeah () oh yes yeah right from when i was little yeah i was always told yeah () hm well i mean i
 won't having met my ah having met my birth mother i know that my life wouldn't have been better
 but um () if i had been brought up by her you know not not anything necessarily to do with her so
 much but just the whole the climate in her family and the whole environment i guess in terms of
 illegim illegitimacy um cause she had a pretty awful experience um yes so so in a sense i lived a
 fantasy in a fantasy world which you know until i actually met her couldn't wasn't dispelled and that
 wasn't until i was thirty three so its a long time to sort of perhaps have an idea that things your life
 couldve been different or better you know and not based on rela reality so in a sense i think youre
 better to know earlier probably um () hm () hm () hm () oh right () hm...() what are my interests um i

MPA1

dunedin () ah what sort of () oh right um my parents my grandparents were there when i was born my on my mums side my great parents grandparents had been in dunedin as well so on my fathers side i was the third generation on mums side i was the fourth generation new zealander ah dunedin () in dunedin () hm oh dunedin was a popular place to migrate to last century thats where the gold was hm () hm () ah yes yes i spent the first twenty five years of my life in dunedin () in ohakuni in the middle of the north island at a dance as on paul holmes the other night () ah genealogy residents bexley residents association um current affairs what else did i write down um yeah um current affairs um sports yes yeah thats about it () i'm well i'm secretary at the moment ive been secretary for about three years i'm as well as newsletter editor and p r person () yes right we look after we try to represent the interests of the ah people here and promote the district () true ah we think ah theres a bit of recognition in it you know um um for many years bexley was regarded as the place where you took your rubbish and dumped it um we believe weve much we the dumps been closed for how many years twenty years ah but people still associate it with us ah may be ten years ive forgotten now i think it was in the nineteen seventies i should check that one out but ah its been closed for quite a long time but people still associate associate us with it () but its not a dump now anyway its a refuse station well it is a different thing yeah () oh politics whats happening in the world you know anything like that () oh yes the news is one of my main entertainments on t v and the radio () ah no i don't i used to get the national geographic thirty years ago twenty or thirty years ago ah no i don't get any current affair magazines newspapers and that ah all i'm interested all i all i have time for um maori in schools i once thought it should be compulsory i don't think it any longer because if you make it compulsory ah you um tend to get reaction to that i think it should be given some kind of a priority some kind of ah recognition ah some kind of ah whats the there should be some special reward or something gloss ah ah um i can't think of the word i'm after the knowledge of maori should be appreciated you know um i would i would like i think in new zealand we should speak both languages ive had three attempts at learning maori unsuccessfully um ah i listen to te karere sometimes and i can sort of get the flow of the language and i recognise the odd word so i know what they're talking about but um its when were overseas or when i'm overseas i'm very conscious of the fact that ah anything that to make us distinct from the people around us tends to be maori kia ora

MPA2

well i can remember quite well um for example my i was an only child and ah the delight of my father and mother of course so my father couldn't wait for me to go to school for me to learn to read and write i was taught that long before i ever went to school and my father was a man with a sense of humour you would gather and he taught me how to spell the word hippopotomus so in due course i went to school and in front of a class of children i as soon as i sat down in school for the first time i said please miss i can spell hippopotomus and i was called hippo to my great chagrin from then on and then my father got a shift down to ah timaru so i kept that a dark secret that i'd been known as hippo i was a fat boy now what was the other thing you something about what was it the war you said () yes () well in my mind ah i went to the war i enlisted as soon as war broke out not for patriotic reasons at all but i had some kind of fate i thought if i tried to get out of it ah it wouldn't work so i thought ill just enlist straight away get it over with quick so i did and sailed in february nineteen forty () no on a troop ship from lyttleton no it was in the new zealand army and ah in due course quite a few years later after many years heavy fighting and one thing and another rather a reluctant fellow got ah sent to our regiment and put he was put in my place and and he was killed in action the next day so i thought well my original calculation might have had some merit i remember the fellow quite well i felt sorry for him of course () well i was senior in rank em but but i went back to a headquarters position and he went to the front and on his way there a german eighty eight millimetre collected his truck and all the men on it normally i would have been on that truck so the next day of course there was a replacement gun machine gun and and in due course i went back to where i had been earlier in the week those are my thoughts of the war very briefly i know now what was the other oh the motorbike oh yes the motorbike () yes ah that was um it was a five hundred cc single aerial aerial red hunter and i bowled around the country on it and but it was had one big pot of five hundred ccs i said and a and a friend of mine and i were bowling along at a bout fifty mile an hour and all of a sudden the motor died and ah i couldn't make out why and after a bit of fiddling then it started again i subsequently realised with a single pot a single cylinder there are only two valves and the ah one of the valves would be held open by a bit of carbon and the moment it was dislodged of course with a bit of fiddling well then all was well and away it went but i couldn't figure it out at the time but my friend said to me it reminded him of his wife reliable but cantankerous and ah his wifes name was

MPA3

ok i was born in christchurch on the thirty first of the tenth nineteen forty seven um i went to saint pauls dallington christchurch primary school from there i went to xavier college in nineteen i think it was nineteen sixty or sixty one from nineteen sixty one to nineteen sixty three after that i left there without school certificate or any qualifications and started into apprenticeship as a um fitting fitter and turner and ok um yep um i used to have an after school job as a message boy at place called andrews and beavans and thats how come i ended up being a fitter and turner although my father was as well although i didn't know what he used to do he used to have a his own own business down in the back yard but i didn't know what he was doing cause he had these machines rattling and everything like that but anyway it happened to be the same as what i picked to do whether thats got any fate or whatever it is but anyway um yep i my um education began then really when i started as an apprentice cause we had to do trade ah trade you know exams and things like that i found them hard i did my first year ok and the second year i got out in the car and had girlfriends instead and didn't go to night school and got pulled up before the um the apprenticeship committee got my apprenticeship almost stopped because i was a naughty boy and all that sorta stuff anyway so i didn't go any further with education so that was going to wasn't going to get trade cert or anything like that but um i got married very young and um i was actually almost through my apprenticeship no i had finished my apprenticeship but you couldn't be a certified tradesperson you could only be an indentured tradesperson cause you didn't have trade certificate but then i pulled finger out and i went back to night school and um did trade cert and got it then and things like that so oh yeah sort of almost like an adult learner sort of thing um and ah yep and i did a did my trade um worked in that for a while then went what did i do then had various jobs at various places and things like that um and then life took me round different corners i went and worked with the unemployed for a number of years um worked for the government working working with the gangs and stuff like that and then my education started again so i went back and did um i went back to hagley as an adult student and did um ue english back in nineteen eighty four or something or other then nineteen eighty six went to advanced trade then no nineteen eighty five i did advanced trade in nineteen eighty six went to teachers college and from there on i went teaching right ok the question of um ah should maori language or maori um education be compulsory in schools well if i was asked this question um say ten

MPA4

marton which is in the north island () yes mum was on holiday extended vacation yeah () yes oh i don't know the full details but um i think they'd moved up there for a while and a sort of extended holiday () hornby high school high school that is () hm hornby () yeah i did i did i shouldve shouldve stayed longer than i did () i got past school cert then i left got a job () ah was a clerical cadet at the railways a wee office very exciting () very exciting it was oh then i went um locomotive branch and spent about eight years driving locomotives and such until i was made redudnant yes () nineteen eighty nine june of nineteen eighty nine () well was um after a lot of years of shift work and that it was um it was quite good for a break () oh you start at ten o'clock at night sometimes and next night you might start at two in the morning and very you know staggered and its not good for your sleeping patterns or anything quality of quality of life is reduced and you speak you speak to anyone that does shift work like that and its the same () yeah that that in that aspect as well yeah but its more just general well-being as anything () worked at the um pareora freezing works in timaru for couple years um in the slaughter board ah office the clerk there and just basically doing wages for the guys on the chains and that and doing charts and stuff and evaluating different killing levels and procedures it was quite a good job but it was only ten months of the year and you had two months where you had nothing () so i had to leave and come back to christchurch and then i'm doing what i was doing now () i'm working um i'm manager for progressive distribution yeah branch of rowans empire () hm () yeah i do i i enjoy it where i am now because it sort of just myself and small work force and my own responsibility and such so its good no or outside influence you can make decisions and you know () its good () um () yes cause in one yes in one aspect because i know that you know french and other subjects were compulsory years ago so why not being new zealand why not have maori and that aspect as well because really you know if when you know some of the language of um some maori language pakeha that might help us relate easier to different cultural sensitivities and that so yeah () a lot () played a lot with sports rugby league and such so and you know um cricket and rugby and yeah a lot yeah () well a lot of its in the north island so its its um its um a lot different up there obviously than down here you know you find that they are um i think they're a lot more sensitive up there to their issues than they down here () hm () a deaf cat () oh its one of sarahs its her one () yeah its white and its deaf and ah and one goldfish () thats about it () oh yeah oh yeah

MPA5

we were going to go to um what they called polder river just inland from cass about fifteen kilometers from arthurs pass on on the south on the eastern side of the main divide () and we're going mountain biking and there were seven of us went two cars seven of us went and we left at eight o'clock this morning and we got there in the pouring rain it was pouring down nor wester you know what the nor westers are like brings the rain to the west coast and dry as anything on the east coast but as it was coming over the main divide it was just laden and pouring down so anyway pouring with rain and I thought oh well well turn back i can't be bothered with this i'm not going to cycle in this rain and then we got to cass and its it cleared and there was a few little blue patches this was going over porters pass it started raining really pouring down and then we got to to cass and then we went its called whites bridge turn off just after cass at whites bridge and thats a bridge that goes over the waimak river on to the north side of the waimak river and then we went it seemed like about thirty kilometers around a huge bluff round followed the river north side of the river followed it round through native bush and through oh just miles and miles of open country beautiful drive however we got there unloaded all the bikes pascal put his foot on his pedal and it fell off so that was the end of that so instead of us all going off for a ride down this river the poulder river i stayed tried to fix his bike while they all went for a ride so they all went for this ride () he went on my bike yes and um and i thought oh well if i'm going to be here by myself i may as well have lunch it was ten o no it was eleven o'clock about eleven o'clock took bout yeah three hours to get there and um anyway so i had myself some lunch and i thought i would fix the bike see if i could fix it so i merrily plodded away there trying to repair this bike and then they turned up pascal came back he said that they he said it was too hot they were all dressed cause it was drizzling when they left and they were in jackets and it was pouring with rain well drizzling but it was fairly heavily course it was wind driven you know the nor west wind was blowing this rain and i was in the back in the back of the car you know how the back opens up and i was sitting in there with my jacket on and my hat on to get out of the and rain trying to fix this bike anyway they came back and when they they decided they were going to go round walk around take photographs fortunately i took my camera and they took us some photographs and i took my the bike that pascal had brought back which one of the other boys and i went off to meet them and i drove for about five six kilometers met them and they were repairing a

FPT1

probably because say in december i decided that i wanted to go to teachers college i'd probably be kicking myself if i because i didn't apply so i'll just see what happens um i never planned to go to university but i think i probably will do some sorta tertiary education anyway () mm yeah i don't know i want to have a break i think a year everyone that i've talked to or a lot of people that i've talked to have said if they could do it again they'd have a years break so i don't know but then i'll probably find it hard to get back into it () i think though once i get the taste of money working full time i'll probably really find it hard to go back cause i want to travel quite a bit as well but i think if i get some sorta degree then i'll probably travel knowing that i've got that () yeah () hm it's only four another four years um yeah it's about () oh i really like little kids yeah well i yeah i was gunna do kindergarten but then i probably maybe wee bit older mm but i don't know even um intermediate would probably be quite good as well it's quite a good age i think because i coached a netball team of eleven and twelve year olds once and i found () i liked that age yeah you can sorta relate to them maybe on a more even level yeah () yeah i've got three um kittens i found they were abandoned i don't know has leigh told you about them? () yeah we were gunna just um look after them till they were old enough but i think were gunna keep them all of them or we are gunna keep all of them because one had a big absess so we had to take her to the vet it got bitten i don't know whether it was by hedgehog or another cat or what () um just on it's back so um had she had to get five stitches so we decided were gunna keep just one but were gunna keep all of them now () yeah we were just gunna keep the one that no one else wanted but we've all grown attached to them mum loves them () yeah they were stray but i mean even if we had to sorta bring them inside anyway or else we just have three cats we wouldn't have been able to touch once they got any older yeah () oh no she's um she has already had two kittens but we we took them and we got them put down we took them to the cat protection first but the lady said they were far too too far gone to um tame them so we had to put them down well if we got them fixed up i mean it's gunna cost a packet because we're already get gotta get three fixed up () um two tortoiseshell and they're female the vet told us you could only get female tortoiseshell () but i saw in the paper the other day the cat that won the um competition the cat of the year or something was a male tortoiseshell i don't know and and a wee ginger one hes a male () hmm () yeah i have suspicions that the mother cause she just abandoned them i don't know what

FPT2

cause hmm () um usually go home and watch the soaps and then start my homework and then go to the gym but it's just nice to sorta lie down and have a break for a couple of hours before i do anything but when i get home on a tuesday i um sorta don't have as long before i go to the gym and then i have to do my homework at night so monday and and then i work on thursdays so mondays sorta my relaxing afternoon () um well i've i'm trying to sorta get all motivated again cause i did quite a bit a study for my exams and that was really good and that payed off so i thought that if i could do at least an hour a night but um () no cause last week we weren't at school basically at all cause we were going to contributing schools and doing things with the prospectuses and um there's still exams and i mean we haven't really had a lot a work to do been going over exams but um yeah i think i'm going to have to sorta get back into it i told myself i was gunna have a week off and then start studying for my end of year exams i don't don't like my chances () yeah from fourth form i sorta knuckled down () leigh's excuse oh i'll work in seventh form () no that's fine i () i sent leigh to the canteen for me so () um oh he'll give it to nicky and she'll take it to classics so that's ok () third period () yep () mmhm () yep i've got two i've got mittens and i've had we moved from greymouth to here when i was seven and i've had her since then and she's really gorgeous but she's gone blind () pardon () no it's a cat () yeah i've got two cats and she went blind and um but she's got heaps cuter now because she doesn't sorta run around the house and annoy you she's just all nice and friendly and she's got her winter coat on so she's really gorgeous and then i did a silly thing and i bought mum a kitten for christmas about three years ago and um it it's /riəʃ/ he's really gorgeous but um she sorta treats it like a baby it's quite sick but she talks to it and makes sure that this is done and this is done and special place on her bed where oliver sleeps at night and oh god and then she um she built this fence thing um so we we wouldn't um traipse mud basic basically so we wouldn't traipse mud in the house and she left a little wee gap in it so oliver could get in and out she's sad and i remember leigh was round one afternoon and she he said something about oliver and mum came out and um she said oh don't say anything about oliver like that () and um he sorta thought she was joking he didn't realise anyone could be so silly () pets () you don't sorta baby them () yeah she does mm no the cat sorta um runs in as soon as the car pulls up the drive and () oh i just think it's funny the way i mean she treats a cat i mean you know that may sound nasty but you know but sorta as you say a

FPT3

leave school um or at the end of this year i'm gunna try and apply for well i am gunna apply for broadcasting school um here in it's the base is here in christchurch um () yeah the television course there's three courses three three modules sort of in broadcasting school and i'm gunna apply for the television part of it it's quite hard to get into but um cause they only accept like twelve people a year so um from all over new zealand but the the course here at here at aranui this year the media studies course is a pre-polytech so it's half polytech based so that's an advantage and it's the only one like it in new zealand and plus i've also done some work in ctv and i'm just about to start doing some stuff for

t v three in focus so it's all a big plus as well () yeah () um well the ctv one is it's a youth programme and um it's made by youth totally you sort of have to learn yourself it's all self learning because they don't really teach us anything they give us the gear um and i learnt a lot from that in a year and a half and that's sort of folded now because there's not enough people to keep it running it's a lot of time but um so the tv three guy has sort of caught us he wanted to use us for his programme so that's a real bonus and plus he wants it to use some of our media studies class as well some sort of stuff doing it for both both classes () ok () yeah i don't know what else to say about it um () do you want me to pause it? () do you want me hold it up here? () um we've just moved out to marshlands and we've bought a a really nice house with a um it's got six point it's on six point five acres of land but oh it's got a river and the most of it's the river bank um and there's two paddocks and we had the grass was growing really long so we had to get cows to sort of trim it but we've got four little calves and they're really cute and i think we've over fed them cause their bellies are pretty round oh well we started strip feeding them like um putting them in electric fence but they always got out somehow don't know how they're naughty () um now they'd probably be about four months or something five months () nope they just well we bought them from some place out in the countryside um that there was just a whole lot of them dad got them for really quite cheap because the where they were being fed was just so barren there was they were pretty a lot of them were really sick and he was really sort of um apprehensive to get them but they were cheap and and um he sorta picked the four best and we just they're just sort of a hobby for him at the moment but he eventually he wants to put the whole lot into like the paddocks and that into graze cattle on them

FPT4

form one form two and then maybe go on to secondary school later on but and then when i started to do it i thought well i don't think i want to do this and then i didn't so i didn't apply because mr troon he said that if you don't really want to go to teachers' college they don't want you there like unless you've really made up your mind that you want to be a teacher they don't and because i was dithering like i always do he said that it probably wasn't a good idea and if i change my mind i could like apply next year () instead () hm () hm oh i wanted to apply just to keep my options open but cause my brother's doing psychology and things like that really interest me cause i was reading one of his um books and it's all about um there's all stuff about dreams and rapid eye movement and all kinds of stuff and what happens when you're dreaming and how like when you dream you think that your dream's about half an hour long and it's actually about two seconds or something and like things like that really interest me but i don't really know i thought being a criminal psychologist would be quite good like everyone says like sounds really morbid but i think it would be good () hm cause then like you could work in with the police or something and then um cause that kind of stuff really interests me because um i'd like to get on the inside of like why people abuse children and why people do things and if i think that if i could find that out it would be really useful and i'd feel like i'd actually done something so but no i don't know but i don't know whether that kind of thing happens like so i haven't really found out i've gotta go and see the um tutors and find out cause it i mean i used to want to be a dentist i remember that and that was about two years ago hm but um and then one of my just one of the friends of the family he got cause apparently only about eight people in new zealand get accepted into dentistry or twelve or something a year and you have to be like um really really really brainy and really good and um and i could do it if i wanted to i suppose but i kind of went off that idea () mm cause you've gotta go go some someway into um medicine like being a doctor as well cause you've gotta go through the initial stage and then you specialise in dentistry so everyone else seems to know what they're doing like one of my friends amy she wants to be a lawyer and she's wanted that for like five years or something () i've got a frog in my throat () um history classics english geography and p e () hm () hm cause i haven't really organised it very well because this year's going so fast like it's august next week and i mean when you think about it god () um august holidays we're supposed to be starting um studying for bursary and () mm () mm () mm

FPT5

... don't even know that they do but () i started in form three i went nightclubbing () yeah i've been night clubbing () ah i just walk up the stairs and and just get in it's you just act you don't really you just stare at them in the eyes the bouncers i reckon that's all i do is stare at them don't act funny nothing like that just act normal like anybody else does when they go nightclubbing oh my parents don't mind that much they let me go but theres certain time gotta catch a taxi home nothing else not allowed to go with any of the guys home or anything () dance i don't drink at all () hm mm () ah well played netball for about nine years been in the canterbury team three times and oh we just went for a trip bout last last week we went for a trip up to oh down to timaru and it was quite good south island tournament down there for school met lots of people quite good we were staying in this hostel () nui we didn't play them but we watched them they support us so we supported them yeah but timaru girls i think won the final hm quite sussed out i reckon cause it's down there too it's quite funny but we stayed in this hostel and there was a ghost there oh the matron told us there was a ghost in the room next to us and we're all freaking out saying all these stories about ghosts and freaking everybody out () oh it comes about once or twice a year () this guy we don't know just a guy () no () she didn't tell us about that but we're just all freaking out telling all these ghost stories bout the ghost down main oh the main west coast road down or was it main south oh don't know theres a ghost down there somewhere on a motorbike () yeah it happened to my brother the other week cause he () oh he chases after you on a motorbike and tells you to slow down but you put your foot down faster to go faster cause he had a accident on the road or something this guy died on there cause he was going too fast and lost control and but the people he goes tried to stop them go slow but he goes makes them go faster my brother said his face had never gone so white in his life () oh it's happened to his girlfriend too cause she lives there she freaked out she hopped in her car out of her car and sprinted inside she reckons () i'd freak out knowing me probably have a accident () hm () no but my cousin's got one at her house but we always go and stay over there mums seen it brothers seen it her sister woke up one night and screaming cause she saw this thing standing at the door she didn't know what it was it was a lady in a white something she was wearing something white like a gown or something but somebody died in that house too () no just got told by the next door neighbours a lady died in there so () i freak out at home at home when i'm by myself and i hear

FPT6

yeah and we we got there we got to hawaii it was so hot it was one o'clock in the morning it was thirty four degrees () yeah it was last month of summer over there it was real hot and um when i was over there went to visit with the relatives that i haven't seen for years half them i haven't even met hah so went and met them all it was real good () and my mum was real sad to leave she wants to go live over there () but she doesn't wanna leave me she thinks i'll get upset () no i wouldn't she wants me to go over there for a year to do student exchange () yep () yeah () mm hm () yep i might do that actually i don't know () people over there say that canada is so much like new zealand it's one of the most similar countries it is just the people and everything trees and just the yeah everything they reckon it's so similar () they are () yeah even we're saying that the aussies don't like us and that that's what they think as if we don't like them () oh i see it oh no i haven't seen it i watched it the other night and it was real funny yeah () yeah () yeah () no they're real friendly and that and i went to toronto this massive big city with i mean more people than new zealand's got in it hah didn't like that fast had to go in the subways and that was real yuck stand up and () underground train subway yeah () and theres all people begging on the streets and that didn't like that just with wee signs give me money and all that yeah () i think so () oh don't know () yeah they just sleep on the street most of them () that's what i was thinking that's why i didn't and people walk round with knives we saw one guy one jamaican one of the jamaicans who've just came over and portugese () oh this is a lot of different colours and that all sorts eh yep theres french and portugese lots a jamaicans () oh my grandma did to her friends cause one of her friends were french and that () yep they all do english oh no my mum's still got a wee bit of a accent she's been here for years but she's still got that little touch of it like she goes tomatoes tomatoes instead of and i say tomatoes () um no she was just born here and then they went over there they were just having a wee holiday planned a wee holiday over here for couple months and my mum came () yeah () yeah () yeah () yeah is that all you want? () ok

FPT7

english compulsory and so i don't think that () do they? () what about in other countries and that? ()
 yeah () it's just that i don't know cause like maori is like a different you know religion well not really a
 religion but you know () yeah and it's up to people whether they want to speak it or not and i don't
 think that schools should be able to force you to speak it if you don't want to and um yeah just i don't
 know () mmhm () um i just started basketball this year and well i was got into the b team which was
 quite good but tryna get into the a team next year yeah it's quite good sport () yeah yeah just oh
 play it on friday nights () at pioneer stadium () just off do you know where lyttleton street is? () yeah
 its off there mmhm () oh i just enjoy to go to the hall every now and again and that yeah () yeah i
 don't do it you know for a club or anything do running sometimes for clubs and that but () well little
 bit do the milk round () yeah () i'd like to be an air hostess or like cause i took french for two years
 which might help me and i've also taken japanese for two years cause they say that you need like
 um you know different qualif two languages and stuff that might help and that so i just took those
 languages to help me if it does to get into air hostessing () i just find it quite interesting cause you get
 to travel but like its quite a awful job cause you're up at all hours of the night and that but also its
 quite good because i don't know you get to travel round and meet people and like i'm a real person
 people type of like you know i like just to meet people and yeah just look after people and that or i'd
 like to be a nanny or something () yeah yeah cause there's some country that likes um new zealand
 nannies () yeah () yeah () um we had a cat but we gave it away cause my mum's going to australia
 next year but i'm just staying here cause i don't wanna change my schooling but i'm staying over
 here for two years and then i'm going back over there after i've finished school but we've got a dog
 as well but hes a rascal () um hes a think hes german shepherd and kelpie mixed and no hang on you
 know those um english sheepdogs () yeah and hes part of that and hes also a kelpie get a bit vicious
 sometimes () yeah () yeah yeah yep () basil () he yowza my next door neighbours named it cause it
 was a stray and well it was their cat and they never fed it or anything so she always come over to
 our house but we just gave her away about a month ago because um mum doesn't wanna give her
 away like just before we're leaving because you know it might have cause a few hassles she might
 run back to the house and that no body will be there so yeah () um surfers paradise () um oh no well

FPT8

when i leave school i'm gunna go to polytech after sixth form if i can get in and i'm gunna do a chef course that goes for about three years and then hopefully i become a chef well that's if i'm good enough yeah but and if i don't get into polytech i'll come back for seventh but i don't want to cause i'm sicka school yeah () yep () i can actually leave next year cause ya only have to be fifteen to go but i think my mum reckons its better get sixth form so i'll just stay make her happy () yep () oh i don't oh i don't know but i like cooking like chinese and that its like italian i like cooking all that stuff () yeah () yeah () i don't cook that often all that stuff cause not none of my family like it really so () oh i don't really like it i just like cooking it i only like a little bit of chinese but yeah so () yep () well i go for walks when i can i started walking to school cause i i don't do any sport or nothing so i thought i'll hafta try and get fit somehow so i just go for walks for about half an hour whenever i feel like it () no just myself just go out and think yeah () oh no just round the neighbourhood just go and sit down somewhere sometimes go for a the park have a swing () no well you know i'm not very active but i just sit down () well i want to be a home ec teacher until i come to fourth form here where i had miss cray and um she was just come outa teachers college and our class was really always hassling her and she was a bit little like me a bit short and you know not very strong but the only she only just gave out detentions all the time cause our class used to hassle her and will cause i had mainly guys in my home ec class that only in it to get something to eat so you know they weren't really interested in home ec they just yeah did nothing just sat there and talked all period and she didn't really like that () oh yeah i did cause you know we sat down us girls we we all listened and that but yeah cause she used to refer them out all the time so we did learn a bit () oh they when they get naughty they've got this little blue slip the teacher fills it out and sends them to another class when they've been too naughty and then they have to go see the dean at the end of period well they get in a bit of trouble () no i'm a good girl

FPT9

hm ok () christchurch () yes () um i'm usually at work but if i'm not working i am oh i try to go out with friends and that but sometimes i can't cause i don't have the money but usually i might just go round to like a friends house or go in to town or go into linwood or something i don't know muck around () oh well my family has got some but i actually oh yeah i spose i do have a cat her names poppy but shes not really mine () um we've got a dog called carly and shes about el eight years old or something like that is she eight years old? and um we have () um its a german shepherd and my mum thinks that it might be a cross with a bull mastiff and we've got a cat called bucky and hes about eleven and we've got another cat called chester and hes about four and hes white () oh yeah animals are cute especially when they're like kittens and puppies and that but i get sick of them i'm like i'm not really an animal person () um i'm i might have a dog for security you know and cause dogs are pretty nice but and the only other reason why i'd have a pet is for my kids really but if it was just me living somewhere i'd only have a dog for security () yeah yeah () um oh yeah yeah its alright like my friends and that there but i don't really like the school i'm at () yeah () um sometimes depends on what i'm doing and depends on what mood i'm in and all that () um maybe english or maori () yep () yeah yeah its good () um () oh i think that everyone should have to do some sorta um course or module um when they first go to the school and there should be like every year just like a couple a weeks or something and they have like one hour like one or two classes a week but not for the whole year you know just just for couple a weeks but um i think that that should be compulsory but i don't think that having full time maori classes for every student should be compulsory because for some people language isn't their best subject and some of them you know it shouldnt be forced upon and that because might make them even more negative but () yeah () well yeah it does because then you think oh well maori should be too but if maori had been from the start then it would be different but because they didn't make it compulsory from the start it makes it different to why they should have it and all that () oh are you talking about making it compulsory for maori children or for all chi all people? () oh right well see i reckon it should be like that with all subjects i reckon that i think that everyone should have to do a bit of everything for like their first year but then from then i think that it should be () yeah every subject oh i mean not japanese because and german and that cause thats not important but um () oh well yeah i spose yeah i spose they should have a bit of everything then i

MPT1

so yeah he passed the exams and that few weeks ago so yeah () oh no don't know he's just gone as an in as a normal soldier i'm going as an officer so it's bit harder yeah but bit of luck well get there () yeah it's just um they basically just sort of teach you everything actually all you've gotta have is good all round skills good maths that's alright so yes () yeah yeah () i think just being normal soldier it's just sorta if you can speak you get in cause that's not very hard i don't think but yeah that's what i hope to do i don't know if i will i can't see myself going to university or polytech though () yeah just don't enjoy it not enjoying school at the moment anyway () no just sick of it just want to leave but ah yeah that's next year () yes that's just hope to do next year at the moment well sport um oh i'm coaching eight year olds league team at the moment i'm not i'm not allowed to play so () oh yeah people say they're not very well but i'm playing actually dad doesn't know yet though () yeah yeah i'm playing for the school at the moment that's actually getting a bit boring cause no-one wants to play us anymore so () yeah so i'm playing hockey i've been i played hockey last week as goalie and i'm playing again on wednesday actually that's quite a good laugh it's a it's an alright team just need a bit of directioning then be quite good last week the other team didn't even have a goalie and we still didn't score () yeah () yeah () the eight year olds are going quite well though they're um good side () no they just a club linwood um () oh mums the secretary there and i always played for linwood and last year the opportunity arose to coach seven year olds and um i thought oh yeah i'll go and fi'll in and ah all the parents sort of said oh well do you want to stay on for the year so i said oh yeah and then this year they moved to eights said oh yeah i'll take them again and so i'm taking them () no it's all () yeah oh i get a jacket out of it so that's alright () get a bit of bit of food and that with the club go down yeah they're going quite well actually they need just need a bit of direction but they're good good players it's real low pressure of course () at that age you don't sort of emphasize anything theres two teams actually theres the other team as well the other eights team and they've all go the parents that sort of the ugly parents syndrome so () um like you get the parents that stand on the side line and yell and scream and so i actually just said oh you can your kid can go on the other team if he wants so yeah that got rid of them so that's not a problem anymore () oh it's bit of a sight sometimes they um like a lot some of them they just switch off sometimes and like you always got you gotta pass it backwards and some of them will just pass straight out pass it forwards or kick it

MPT2

round the legs really yeah yeah my tries were all pretty much the same just got the ball ran over the line my last one though i had a bit of a run and there was no-one round and i went round put it behind the post you know so it's easier to convert for david and and they're all running at me trying to push me over and i just standing there didn't put it down let let them they were charging me trying to knock me over waited till about one metre away before i touched it down just to annoy them and ran off and laughed at them () oh yeah just got to swerve them cause it is pretty it's quite rough i mean daniel played got carried off last week concussion and everything () yeah () yeah it's it's so much fun i mean it's it's different i mean when () yeah () it's pretty stupid some people actually go out to injure people i wouldn't play in the forwards or anywhere in further i play in the wing so i don't normally have to do too much stuff except when it gets kicked out and there's about five big guys chasing me hm forget it yes () yeah its () yeah yeah it's not not quite as bad cause you don't get rucked and the sprigs are actually a bit different in oh in ruck rugby when everyone lies on the ground and jumps on each other and scrapes their sprigs over each other and pretend they're trying to go for the ball yeah () league's pretty much the same except when you get tackled you you get up and you don't lose the ball you just get to play it through your legs and you get six like that they're called tackles you know held and all that get called held () yeah () yeah they're the forwards i don't do that () i i run round them or i wait till about one of last tackles when we have to spin it wide and i just get the ball then and run on follow the big guys and wait for them to pass it () yeah it's not it's not too bad i mean thing is i really like it its a feeling it's way more free than soccer or anything i mean i really like soccer i played that for all my life but when you've got the ball in league and you're running down the wing from your arms and theres about oh sort of ten massive guys chasing you're a sort of ... sort of exhilarating it's sort of like obviously racing car drivers feel or something () no () yeah yeah i do i used to do a lot of running in soccer but it was it wasn't quite the same () cause you know if you if you got tackled and you weren't gonna get killed so it wasn't that much of incentive oh yeah one of the rep tournaments i played for at soccer in under sixteens it was quite hard all the full backs pretty massive and they all looked like they should have been playing league or something and they went into gets pretty physical all the games for people about my age do they everyone all () everyone wants to go round wasting everyone for some reason - you would do um but difference is once they

MPT3

every saturdays like i used to play juniors but now i this year i got put up to seniors and i didn't really like it that much cause i was with this team of old men and they were pretty not very (...) and bad tempered and that so it wasn't the best but oh it was alright quite funny but we used to get someone sent off nearly every game and () oh its rangers no () oh probably anywhere up to forty i spose not old men but like () yeah hm () no he played rugby () yeah but she doesnt really take much interest in sport () i don't know just played it when i was little like from when i was about five () no for i first of all i started playing for brighton then i moved to north beach with morgan that was probably not a very good move cause they're not very hot down there so i came back to rangers and its pretty strong club () hm () oh not professional you know not professional just a like they play in the national league thing () yeah () fishing - oh hell hes gone fishing this weekend actually at akaroa () oh its not exclusively fishing but so its not as bad as leigh and that say they exaggerated () especially morgan - not really oh sometimes oh every now and then i spose not every weekend or /e/ () oh that dad oh he heard from his friend that theres these fish that get come up to breed or something and they come ashore so he went out to see if he could find them but they werent really on they were sort of they were dead when they wash up so you can't really eat them () they used to in the old days i think well dad tried it but () hm ugly things - oh heaps of people eat them like they people go along scabbing them off the beach and eating them - oh they're only in winter when its frost and a full moon so they wash up they're about oh metre long () like a sorta like a eel cept they're deep sea things () oh they just they just come up like and beach themselves really at night so you have to go along right about five in the morning - oh no its the whole way along i spose but like i say people eat them so they people are out scabbing for them early in the morning ()- basically it just the whole winter when its frosty that i mean they usually only one or two over a wide area i think we got a photo of one at home () oh once when dad was sort of forcing it down my throat i guess i wasn't very starving but he eats anything () yeah in brighton () - no he went to um the where there was a high school in brighton - when it got demolished they built aranui so he just missed out on going to aranui i spose () probably oh no he wants to move he wants to retire to surfers paradise i think () yeah she went about two years ago oh four years ago - she hated oh she didn't hate it but she didn't like it very much she don't think shed ever go back and live there () just her () ive never been back but

MPT4

picks it up real quick and all this sorta shit but um but like her class is real pus because if you if you slack and you can't be bothered doing it and you try and leave you feel real stupid because in her class no-one leaves usually like some classes people just sort of walk out of it when they're tired or something but everyone sorta looks at you as if to say oh my god () yeah like its aerobics sorta shit um but thats the only good thing ill say about weights is that when youre in there no-ones like showing you what to do so you can just piss around and do what you wanna do but yeah its quite good but the gy like theres heaps of posey guys like theres heapsa theres heaps of girls who like who are like that they go and they have make up on they've got all these real expensive leotards and real flash shoes and all that sort of stuff and they they hardly do any work but they just prance round there and they're always in there theres like a sort of group of them oh they're not i don't think they're friends though or anything but they're always theres always the same people in there they're always real dressed up and all this and they've got like all their gym gear like they got the right sweatshirts and the bag and the new bottle and all this stuff like that and sweat bands () and they probably go they probably got like they all if they bike to the gym they bike on real expensive bikes and if they drive they go usually in real flash cars so they're just going its just like they just showing off when they go there really () yeah they do work outs but like they don't they're not there to work really they're just sort of hanging round just doing () oh yeah some of them are like theres heaps of ones heaps have got like real good bodies and they're just there um it seems like they're like um its like they're just there to show off () know what i'm talking about? () right and um and they don't really need to be there or anything but they just go along just they say oh its like she says oh i'm just going for fun and all that but like shes always there and () and like she doesnt even need to be there practically but shes just going there for fun () i don't think she does any oh well she used to go running but like hardly ever like probably about once or twice a week and thats all she does and oh she bikes to school each day or most days () hm () but um like theres guys who are like that and they go in and they've got all real flash gear and they've got singlets on and then they have big hoo a big sweat shirt over top of that and a big jacket and they go in and they've got like big weights gloves and a belt and they put it over their shoulder and they do their hair and all this sorta shit they're real blouses like they're real dickheads but i spose they do like they some of them () a girl some of them

MPT5

yeah i love my nephews very much one ... he's two and my other nephew i've just got a new nephew he's three months old and i've got a couple of nieces um mark he's a three year old i get along with him really well spend a lot of time with him is with me working just up the road i stayed there for the weekend () so i just walk up to the mall to work i babysit them quite often now that she's getting out of it so yeah um my other two nephews i see raquel she's three i see her off and on my other niece i don't see her very often because the family doesn't get along that well so i don't see her that much but the rest of the family i keep in great contact with () yeah and my aunty's just come over from america today so i went home to see her at lunch time but she wasn't home so i'll see her after school and she brought my two cousins three cousins ... she's twenty six and she's just finished law school and she's done nursing also um () yeah and i got two the other two cousins daniel he's twelve not twelve ten what am i saying? yeah um they're over for a month and they're going back again () so that practically bores you () - work well i'll talk about work it's not that exciting um i work at the toy warehouse in hornby i work there part time during christmas i work full time um i applied for a super value job um but i was going to take my name off but they've rung me so i had to go in for an interview um () um stocking shelves i have to but i'm more a people person i like talking to people that's what i like about my job cause i'm on the checkouts socialising with other people and things like that which i enjoy () i want to be a cabin attendant () a cabin attendant an air steward () yeah air traveller um () i love travelling and my grandmother i went to the states with her for the three months um we're hoping to go to england february march next year after i save up enough money which is quite hard with the low pay rate i'm on the minimum um () um it's i've done some research you've got to be at least twenty like any previous formal training like any courses anything like that um so i've got to wait till then they like you to have school cert you know you have maths and english things like that () first aid certificate which i've got that um () yeah you've got to be five foot well i'm the right height it's five foot eight or five foot six or something um () can't wear glasses or contact lenses or anything like that () no nothing like that ()

MPT6

yeah () um yeah i i kinda like i enjoy it very much um i do a lot of it at um um home plus i done a few work experience from here at school and other places like um earnest adams and ayreshire well didn't really much enjoy it at ayreshire () no it was um can't remember his name now um what else? um plus i also do home economics at school um what else? um also during the holidays i rang up a few places around see if there's any um applications going a few i didn't bout say two or three i didn't get really anywhere and um so i did it again and it got through took my application in and um one at south city um i took it in and there was another one at church corner the countdown one so took the one into head office of countdown and said to me i didn't do it like bring my c v in at till december cause that really when it opens and um um what else? um () yeah () well um () yeah it started off started off i thought about doing being being a chef cause i did this course at christchurch academy but ive also found found that a wee bit hard and then i thought um i sort of thought well bakeries a bit easier so i thought might sort of think about that as a job so so i sort of changed from being a chef to being a baker now - yeah well with a chef it's sort of like it's so how can i explain it it's sort of um now how can i put it it's kind of a bit more to do with cause like its more um yeah () yeah - sorta like cause i like doing chef used to like making a whole meal whereas with baker you're just sort of like making say a few cakes or biscuits or so forth and that yeah yeah - ah one cat () yeah i love them () tabby () my tabby cat () yeah um () um () yeah my cat's really like bit like that too yeah sometimes it looks um at at at our house we've got a like wee peep holes and that where she looks down see if she finds any find any mices and that yeah um yeah also got um sister and a brother in law my sister actual my sister actually um left school two years ago she works at um couture fashions in town and ah she's been married for year now ... a year and a half um and my brother in law he works at profile at hornby um he's got a lot of interests and so has my sister um and my dad well um he used to work he works in the railways sort of he sort of retiring he's sort of retired now kind of and he's a little bit um looking for a job at not sure where it is in hornby i think it is and mum she used to work and now she just works at home really as a housewife so she's kept pretty busy um what else? - fortunately i'm the youngest () oh no not really () we used to um get on each others back but now () yeah um

MPT7

well i think ah maori should be compulsory in school cause some maoris who might want to some pakeha might want to learn maori and talk maori and everything like that and they might want to be maori and some maori people might need to know the maori and to get along with their family and relations and stuff that's my answer () oh its a great sport it ah i've been playing for five years um and um i play prop and its o k i suppose but you get a sore back um the rules keep changing and that's pretty stupid () i don't really know actually but um they just change and everything and i don't know i don't follow the rules anyway i just play um and and that's probably about it () well its () well you're a forward yeah yeah but its the front row () yeah well you get two you got backs and forwards and the backs stay at the back line like the wing and stuff and the forwards are in the scrum () yeah and i'm a forward so i'm proud of that () yeah () yeah you get sore back and you get a pretty sore neck as well cause they sort of lift you up () yeah () well i'm in the front row on the on the ah right hand side yeah () i volunteered () yeah () no one else wanted it haven't played there before so i thought i might as well play it yeah () yeah its quite a good game i used to play league but couldn't be bothered playing that anymore so i played rugby () oh cause most of my friends are playing rugby () yeah () no i used to play the wing () yeah () but never () oh i'm fast enough yeah so that's about rugby () o k () no i haven't got any pets mum won't allow pets () i would actually () a little wee dog () yeah () yeah just as long as its little i don't know much about dogs just little so i can pick it up () um well she doesn't want a cat because she doesn't like things hanging round her feet and everything and she doesn't want dog she doesn't want all the mess to clean up round the house and everything so that's that () but i wouldn't () yeah

MPT8

no i don't think ah maori should be compulsory cause its up to the persons choice whether they want to do or not so ah when i leave school i'll probably go to lincoln univerisity to do a farming course and then from there i'll probably work on a farm for a few years and buy my own farm or try something else () oh it'll probably be a dairying farm or a beef farm cattle and that yeah its oh well i feel its better than () sheep () yeah milking cows () well well dairy you actually get the product off the cow without having to kill them and for beef you've gotta take them to the slaughter house and get to take them to the butchery and all the rest of that kind of stuff () well not really but i think um dairy would be cause you buy butter and cheese and all the rest of that stuff it just seems like its going to be more profitable but i'll find out when i go to school or yeah () i don't know oh we stayed at a farm one year a long time back for a few for a while and i found it really fun he had a sheep farm but it was really fun and that so i was quite young yeah used to jump round on the sheep and ride them around its quite fun () and that's about it yeah () oh we used to have a dog but he got put down cause he had a tumour yeah wasn't that good () it was it was a doberman () last year in august () oh not that old about seven or eight i think and that was pretty bad and then we had another dog but mum was allergic to that one so we had to get that one put down as well so it hasn't been a good () yeah it was oh but we've got an aviary and that so that's about all we can talk to them and that's about it () oh mainly budgies and cockatiels not bad make a lot of noise every now and then () yeah oh they squawk and that yeah i've actually got one of them now the other ones died () we haven't had much luck with it no () oh yeah yeah oh that's great fun you go up the hill and you scream down there fall off and hurt yourself but oh its all fun () yeah () no i don't go into any competitions or anything i just do it for the fun () oh with my brother and a few other friends mainly () oh yeah we go over the port hills down the summit road and that's thats how we get to sumner every now and then yeah () yeah oh you go up different tracks and you come down other ones its really fun keeps you fit well so they say anyway if you do enough of it () yeah it has to really () yeah well probably horticulture () oh well we try to grow different plants and under different circumstances circumstances and that () yeah yeah and science isn't that bad teachers a bit crabby every now and then but that's what you get with those kind of people yeah () - oh no well the experiments already outlined we've just got to do them carry them through and that - oh yeah but that'll be more on a larger scale and that and it